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Music and Tourism in Cusco, Peru:

Culture as a Resource

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Music and Tourism in Cusco, Peru:

Culture as a Resource

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Music and Tourism in Cusco, Peru:

Culture as a Resource

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This dissertation explores music in Cusco, Peru found in the festivals and other performance contexts related to tourism. The central thesis considers what happen when culture becomes a resource for socio-economic development. First the historical emergence of culture as a resource is examined through the discourse of international agencies, folklorists, and travelers. Next, various contexts of music and tourism in Cusco highlight specific examples of culture as a resource, such as Inti Raymi, other raymi festivals, the pilgrimage of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i, dinner show restaurants, and nightclubs. In each example, I discuss the history of the performance context, the musical repertoire, opportunities for musicians, and how local people keep the performance relevant to their lives. While critics have called cultural tourism a devil's

bargain and proponents have called it a panacea to under-development, I conclude that the real effects of culture as a resource in Cusco are more complex. I analyze the music in conjunction with social conditions of asymmetric power as the aestheticization of poverty.

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Introduction

By convention, travel narratives often begin with an arrival scene (Pratt 1992); this introduction will not be an exception. When you arrive at the airport in Cusco, Peru, the plane, lining up for the descent into the valley, first circles low over the outlying towns, giving you glimpses of the mountainous countryside. In the dry season the ground appears reddish-brown and in the wet season the hillsides and valley floors are green with crops. After landing, you disembark the plane and pass through hallways near the departure lounge. At this point you begin to feel the altitude. Your movements seem to slow and weaken and your head feels like it is underwater. You follow the other passengers to a ramp that leads to the baggage claim area. As you emerge into baggage claim, you are hit with waves of music. There is a group of musicians in folk dress actually playing in the airport. They dance and they sing. The sounds of their *charangos,* guitars, *bombo, quena*, and *zampoñas* fill the space. You listen for a moment, frozen, unable to think of anything else. You have the feeling that you have arrived in a special place. Other than Austin, Texas, what other airports have live local music? Then, suddenly, the baggage is unloaded and the jarring search for your suitcase brings you back to the practical reality of traveling.

Each of my four arrivals to Cusco between 2002 and 2006 have been exactly this way: the same family of musicians in the same dress, with the same instruments, playing the same music. I can remember hearing Carnavalito (El Humahuaqueno) in 2002 or 2003. The musicians offer CDs for sale as people collect their baggage. They were not the only people who try to sell something to the passengers. The musicians shared the baggage claim area with representatives of hotels and travel agencies who pay for the right to set up small kiosks on the perimeter of the room to try to reach clients without reservations.

The topic of music and tourism in Cusco, Peru offers a unique perspective in scholarship because, when compared to other studies of music, dance, and folklore in Cusco (see, de la Cadena 2000, Mendoza 2000 and 2006, and Turino1991), this dissertation moves beyond issues of cultural politics and *indigenismo* to confront head-on the implications of the long-term interweaving of culture and tourism; and, when compared to other studies of culture and tourism, it moves beyond issues of authenticity constructed around the binary opposition of insider/outsider, front stage/back stage, or destruction/salvation. Tourism in Cusco is not a wide-ranging, but thin veneer masking some other more authentic culture underneath that is impervious to tourism. Tourism and its related objects and performances are integrated into the lives of people who live

in Cusco and who visit there. It would therefore be dishonest to ignore that, for many musical performances, tourism is a significant part of the cultural and socio-economic contexts.

Research Topic: Music and Tourism in Cusco, Peru

Ethnomusicology studies music within social contexts. In Cusco, it is impossible to ignore that Inca historic sites, festivals, and tourism play central roles in the cultural and economic life of the city. Therefore, to understand musical practices in relation to tourism was an obvious and necessary research project. Given the pervasive influence of tourism and other forms of travel (work or migration, for example) on cultural contexts around the world, the small number of scholarly studies on music and tourism is surprising. Some of the earliest ethnomusicological studies on music and tourism appeared in a collection of essays called *Com Mek Me Hol' Yu Han': The Impact of Tourism on Traditional Music* (1988), which resulted from a 1986 meeting in Jamaica of the International Council for Traditional Music. As Adrienne Kaeppler's introduction noted, tourism was seen as a particular form of social interaction that caused permanent changes to traditional music. Malm and Wallis (1988) depicted tourism as causing Westernization in some traditional musics as a part of "commercial changes" (Malm and Wallis 1988:186). Wilcken (1988) described the physical differences between

tourists' drums in Haiti and their *Rada* models as symbolic of the social interactions between hosts and guests. This interaction was limited by insider/outsider status and was portrayed in generally negative terms, with the only positive aspect being the profits. She wrote, "These bits of knowledge hosts and guests use in interaction are, of course, stereotypes. A tourist drum, the product of the interaction, may thus be viewed negatively. The sacred Rada drum, moreover, has been stripped of its religious meanings" (Wilcken 1988:54).

Béhague (1988), however, explored a much more complex and fluid process of interaction by examining the lengthy exchange in Brazil between urban and rural musicians, as well as between socio-economic groups from Brazil and abroad. In the case of Afro-Brazilian music in Bahia, religious leaders successfully controlled interactions with tourism. Rather than lament changes to traditional music caused by tourism, Béhague argued that this situation can illustrate, "the traditional musician's own interpretive mechanism in coping with the situation of change…thus revealing the degrees of true significance attached to the tradition by the native musician himself, and his creativity in considering acceptable options…" (Béhague 1988:66). This dissertation views change in a similar manner. Change cannot be assumed to be destructive or disabling to musicians because it can create fluid situations that open new possibilities

to musicians. The resulting musical practices, performance contexts and individual agency cannot be determined in advance.

Papers from the 1998 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology were published in a special issue of *The World of Music* in 1998. When compared to *Com Mek Me Hol' Yu Han'*, a clear theoretical shift appeared. Instead of tourism as the cause of permanent change, Stokes (1999) summarized the theoretical issues as "how in modernity experiences of movement are valorized and aestheticized or demonized and pathologized, how difference is constructed and managed in situations of extreme commodification and cultural reflexivity, and how under what circumstances communication takes place across the gaps difference establishes" (Stokes 1999:141). Rather than studying tourism as an agent of change acting against traditional music, Stokes's analysis highlighted travel's connections to modernity and commodification, as well as the diverse possibilities of the outcomes of those interactions. Stokes's focus on processes of aestheticization, commodification, and valorization of travel are also the concerns of this dissertation. However, the articles published in that special issue differed from this dissertation in that they narrowly focused on one performance context or genre, thus failing to provide a broad picture of music and tourism. For example articles by Brennan, Cooley, and Titon limited their research sites to one festival.

Stepputat (2004) described a genre of music in Bali called *Gamelan Rindik* that was used almost exclusively in settings of tourism. The author detailed the music's setting, repertoire and style, which result in a particular aesthetic that the author described as "nice 'n' easy." She states that the music was performed by "three musicians, two of which are gently beating out notes on the bamboo-xylophone *rindik*, while the third one plays the bamboo flute *suling*. In many cases *rindik* music is considered part of the ambiance, something 'typically' Balinese. Many tourists never turn to watch the musicians or rarely perceive them as anything other than quasi-cultural background tapestry" (Stepputat 2006:84). Despite this interesting aesthetic and social situation, the author did not develop a critical perspective on this musical practice in relation to tourism, and instead, thoroughly described in objective detail the instruments and the musical characteristics of the genre.

Feintuch (2004) presented an interesting study of fiddle music in Inverness County, Cape Breton, Canada. While many of the opening sections of the article addressed typical topics such as a description of the musical genre, and the locality and social context of performance, the final section of the article discussed music and tourism. In this section the author suggested that through development projects and tourism, fiddling was becoming "more than a *cultural* resource" (Feintuch 2004:94).

"Music, especially in Inverness County, is increasingly significant in Cape Breton's development for tourism. And, increasingly, there's a lot at stake when it comes to the other half of the dancers, the visitors. Cape Breton Scottish violin music is proving to be an economic resource" (ibid). The author went on to discuss local development projects and the agency of different actors and their goals. However, the author did not develop a comprehensive framework for considering the deeper implications of how and why culture becomes a resource.

Gibson and Connell (2005) completed a monograph drawing together numerous case studies of music and tourism. However, they unnecessarily limited their study by defining music tourism as travel specifically for the purpose of experiencing music, such as visiting Graceland or attending a music festival. While they recognized tourism as a "social, economic, cultural, environmental, and political phenomenon" (Gibson and Connell 2005:3), they discussed only leisure travel. Considering the limitation of their definition of music and tourism, overall, the authors discussed an admirably broad range of places and genres of music, including: classical music in Vienna, virtual travel to Ireland and Hawaii through popular music, sites of music making like Liverpool, etc. Their thoroughness serves as a useful scholarly resource. However, too often their analysis merely summarized other studies and provided no new theorization. While

they addressed issues of consumption, modernity, and nostalgia, the work suffered from the lack of a broad conceptual framework to analyze the many examples.

While some early studies on music and tourism suggested possible theoretical perspectives, many were often too limited or inadequate because: they focused on one musical genre; they merely described music and tourism; they lacked a broad conceptual framework; they dismissed all tourism related expressions as inauthentic or destructive; or they too narrowly defined music and tourism. This dissertation is distinct in that it: offers a broad conceptual framework for understanding music and tourism: culture as a resource and the aestheticization of poverty; it includes a wide range of musical practices, sites, and people (from consumers to workers) in Cusco, Peru; and it explores travel from many perspectives, including leisure, work, and pilgrimage.

Anthropological studies of tourism have covered a broad range of issues, including: the representation of tourism (Crick 1989), social positions of "hosts and guests" (Smith 1989), as an agent of modernity (MacCannell 1999), and the power of the gaze in creating difference (Urry 2002). Of particular interest to this dissertation are studies that link scholarship to travel. For example, Pratt (1992) focused on travel literature as a form of representation of cultural contact. Clifford (1997) examined similarities and connections between ethnographic fieldwork, representation and travel.

Clifford identified three interrelated global forces that affect travel: “The continuing legacies of empire, the effects of unprecedented world wars, and the global consequences of industrial capitalism’s disruptive, restructuring activities” (Clifford 1997:7). These works are only a small sample of the research related to music, culture and tourism. Taken together, they demonstrate that the key issues are: broad historical forces such as imperialism, cultural change, capitalism and commodification, as well as representation and difference. With these issues in mind, the central question of this dissertation is: within the context of musical practices and performances in Cusco, Peru, what happens when local culture becomes a major resource for economic development through tourism?

I borrow the phrase “culture as a resource” from the title of a scholarly article by Stephen (1991) “Culture as a Resource: Four Cases of Self-Managed Indigenous Craft Production in Latin America.” Stephen used examples from Otavalo, Ecuador, San Blas, Panama, and Mexico of handicraft production for tourist markets to study how indigenous communities could profit from tourism while still maintaining their identity. Though her phrase inspired aspects of this study, my understanding of “culture as a resource” is not limited to the examples or context outlined by Stephen. Stephen’s study compared similar cases of material production for commercialization in Latin America

in which indigenous producers managed to carve out economic opportunities for themselves by altering the use of traditional crafts. Stephen highlighted commonalities in economic conditions and traditional social interaction among the four locations.

As chapter one will demonstrate, I am interested in framing a broader historical context to understand how culture became linked to the concept of resources as something that must be managed by experts and institutions and how this new positioning of culture as a resource facilitated development theories and projects for Latin America, related to cultural and heritage tourism as a non-industrial path to development.

Despite the scholarly works listed above, music related to tourism is often dismissed as a research topic because art and music aimed at tourists are considered vulgar or inferior copies of "real" expressive culture. Because their sole purpose is a quick profit, they are considered inauthentic examples of culture. However, Errington (1994) suggested that the cultural values that constitute some objects as "art" and reject others as inauthentic are fluid. She wrote that while anthropologists have spent considerable time debating how authenticity is culturally constructed, equally as important is the cultural construction of art. For example, the designation of tourist souvenir or art is fluid over time. Errington noted:

> The kinds of objects that are made for the market by ethnic minorities within North America, or by fourth-world peoples within third-world countries, many of which became independent at midcentury, are currently sold as contemporary ethnic arts, authentic Indian jewelry, genuine Mayan folk art, and so forth. They stand to the prototype Authentic Primitive Art perhaps as emus and cassowaries do to the prototype bird. Objects of this sort used to be denigrated as degenerate "tourist art" but now are taking their place as legitimate forms of arts, crafts, and decorations, and are moving into the category of contemporary art, with named artists. (Errington 1994:221)

When I first visited Cusco, I unconsciously held a similar assumption about tourism, culture and authenticity that rejected cultural performances and object produced for tourists. In the first weeks of my stay in Cusco in 2002, I would walk the streets in the center of the city, taking in everything about the city: the architecture, the stores, the people in the streets, and the open air markets. On each stroll, it was not long before ambulant street vendors approached me trying to sell sweaters, “Chompa, mami,” postcards, jewelry, candy, gourds painted with pastoral scenes, watercolors, or a chance to take a photograph of children in traditional clothes with a llama, “Takee picture.” A simple, “No gracias” or “No todavida” never ended the sales pitch. Ambulant street vendors are polite, smiling, but persistent. If you won’t buy for yourself, then a present. If you won’t buy now, then let’s meet later. If you won’t pay

10 soles, then what about 5 soles? While ambulant vendors operate under the slimmest of profit margins and have the lowest status among vendors (see Seligmann 2004), their persistence pays off, at least some of the time. I have seen many instances of tourists buying because the price was right, because they saw something that they wanted and did not know where else to get it, or because of the social interaction itself. Some tourists enjoy the close, personal interaction with "real" people, while others buy because they feel sympathy for the vendors, who are sometimes young mothers with children on their back or children who frequently sell postcards.

After visiting stores in several areas, such as Avenida del Sol, Plaza des Armas, and San Blas, I quickly realized that the stores all stock the same items, a mixture of: sweaters, scarves, blankets, paintings, jewelry, t-shirts, postcards, CD's, and musical instruments, such as *quenas* and *zampoñas*. There are dozens and dozens of these stores and kiosks and many owners beckon tourists in as they pass on the street. Despite the aura of "traditionalness" around these goods, they are not traditional crafts, as one imagines, produced in a workshop by the retailer's family. The sameness of the goods reveals that they are produced in large quantities in factories, sold to wholesalers, who then resell them to local retailers.

In choosing Cusco as a research site, I had not imagined this excess of commodification of handicrafts for the tourist market. Walking down the street, the sheer number of stores and people, all with the same items of commodified "traditionalness," seemed to blur together. I thought, how am I ever going to understand the *real* culture of Cusco when all this tourist junk is in the way? I tried to ignore it, but there was too much to ignore. It was impossible.

In a moment of frustration, I became aware of my bias against practices and material culture related to tourism. My own ideals of authenticity interfered with understanding the reality of Cusco. Thousands of working people in Cusco make a living, have a home, send their children to school, and give them food to eat by selling those *quenas* and sweaters. It does not get any realer than that. Once I gave up my own preconceptions of authentic cultural practices, the possibility of understanding music in Cusco became much more open. By considering all forms and practices of music in Cusco as legitimately part of the culture, a deeper and broader understanding of music, culture and tourism can develop.

Tourism in Cusco: A Historical Perspective

To understand the tourism in Cusco from a historical perspective, it is important to consider how practices of travel and tourism, and thus the definition of who is a

tourist, have changed. A common understanding of tourism is when someone travels to a place, other than their home, for pleasure. Travel, on the other hand is a broader term that encompasses the movement of anyone for purposes of pleasure, business, family or religious obligations, migration, or displacement. This distinction between movement and leisure has deeper significance. Clifford (1997) noted that some forms of travel and some travelers are valued over others, and their discourse given more authority. Western leisure travelers and their accompanying discourse (guides, journals, letters, etc) garner the most attention and prestige because their travel is valued as "heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling" (Clifford 1997: 31). Other travel and travelers that relate to work (travelers' servants, porters, conductors, flight attendants, migrant laborers, etc.) or political displacement (refugees) are ignored or marginalized as travelers. To address the alterity of some travelers, I considered travel related to traditional commercial tourism and other forms of travel in Cusco, such as pilgrimage and folklore research.

Examples of travel literature show that foreign travelers have visited Cusco and its adjacent archeological sites since the early nineteenth century.[1] With Hiram Bingham's international publications about Machu Picchu, travel increased in the early

twentieth century. During that time, many of Cusco's politicians and intellectuals promoted tourism as a means of economic modernization. In the 1920s local government officials opened a branch of the National Tourism Corporation in Cusco, which was replaced in the 1940s by the Touring Automóvil Club del Perú. They also wrote numerous travel guides, for example Cosio (1924), Uriel García (1926), Valcárcel (1938), and Vidal Unda (1968).

In using tourism as a means of economic development and modernization, Cusco's leaders were several decades ahead of national governments and international institutions. Starting in the 1940s and 1950s, many Latin American national governments, including Peru, Ecuador, and Panama, promoted tourism as a development strategy that compensated for a lack of industrialized production. Beginning in the 1960s-70s, international organizations, such as the World Bank[2]; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Peace Corps; and the World Tourism Organization increased their involvement in analyzing, aiding, and investing in tourism in Latin America, promoting it as an easy and clean method for development.

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[1] See for example, Squire (1872) "Observations on the Geography and Archaeology of Peru." Enock (1906) "Southern Peru: Notes on Two Expeditions. I. Regions of Sandia and Carabaya, and Lake Titicaca," as well as Bandelier (1904) and Mozans (1911) who are discussed in chapter one.
[2] See Hawkins and Man's (2007) detailed summary of the World Bank's development through tourism.

After the efforts of local intellectuals and politicians from the 1920s-1950s, UNESCO has made the largest impact on tourism in Cusco. In 1972 the Peruvian government and UNESCO created a plan for the funding and improvement of infrastructure in the Cusco-Puno region with the intention of increasing tourism. The plan was called La Comisión Coordinadora para el Plan Turístico Cultural Peru-UNESCO (COPESCO). From 1973-1979, 85 million soles were invested in roads, rural electrification, canalization of water, hotels, and archeological preservation; this represented 15% of the total public spending for that time (Lovón and Moscoso 1981:4). The money came from the Peruvian government, UNESCO, the World Bank, and Banco Interamericano de Reconstrucción y Fomento (Lovón and Moscoso 1981:23). Of this, Peru had to repay 1.119 million dollars to the World Bank, around 60% of the total funding (Lovón Zavala 1982:12). Infrastructure development and preservation of historical sites continued to be organized and funded by COPESCO through the 1990s. Also in the 1970s, the central government in Peru, under the Velasco government, formalized its control over all patrimonial sites, including restoration and revenue collection, with the formation of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC), which continues to sites.

Currently, tourism is one of the largest economic sectors, worldwide. The World Tourism Organization (WTO), a subsidiary of the United Nations, estimated that in 2005 tourism spending was around $2 billion per day.[3] Through the WTO, the U.N still promotes tourism as a means for development in Latin America. A recent press release stated, **"**Iberoamerica receives 15% of worldwide tourist arrivals, which in 2005 generated 90 billion US dollars (73 billion euros) in receipts. Tourism thus constitutes an important instrument for the promotion of development in Iberoamerica"[4]

Research Methods and Analysis

Like most ethnomusicological research, this dissertation is based in part on fieldwork conducted in the summers of 2002 and 2003, as well as January-October 2006. The research perspective of this dissertation views music and travel from as broad a point of view as possible. In that respect, it draws on the ideas of Marcus (1998) for multi-sited ethnography. In the essay entitled "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography" Marcus (1998) distinguished between the traditional, single-sited, and ethnographically intense study of culture and another method he termed multi-sited ethnography. The latter endeavors to examine facets of

[3] http://www.unwto.org/media/Releases/2006/july/twobillion.html
[4] http://www.unwto.org/media/Releases/2006/november/iberoamerica.htm

the world system (such as capitalism, nationalism, tourism, and globalization) through "a strategy or design of research that acknowledges macrotheoretical concepts and narratives of the world system but does not rely on them for the contextual architecture framing a set of subjects. This mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity…" (Marcus 1998:80). The macronarrative of music and travel in Cusco is culture as a resource that draws its value from an aestheticization of poverty.

Multi-sited fieldwork method, Marcus noted, has some potential limitations. It tests the limits of ethnography by pulling the focus away from a deep connection with a locality. It necessarily limits certain kinds of knowledge. Finally, it draws attention away from subalterns. There are also consequences for any written analysis based on multi-sited fieldwork. As the title of book *Ethnography through Thick and Thin* implies, descriptions of culture based on multi-sited fieldwork tend to be thin on ethnographic details. This dissertation sacrifices a thick description of cultural context and people for a broad conceptual framework that maps different facets of culture as a resource over a longer time frame. So while the nuances of everyday life and individuals are less prominent in this dissertation, the benefits of multi-sited research are: a view into the

world system of international cultural tourism; and a comparison of many different practices of travel and music in Cusco.

The fieldwork was conducted mainly through observation methods. While participant observation is typical of ethnographic fieldwork, in the performances mentioned in this dissertation, in what capacity could I have reasonably participated and how would that participation have benefited the performers? Typically ethnomusicologists participate by playing music. This is because scholars have promoted the idea that music really only exists in performance rather than as an abstract system wholly transcribable into notation (Béhague 1984; 2006). However, in these contexts, where culture is seen simultaneously as a resource (heritage, which implies a relation or lineage, connected certain people to the past) and as an aural and visual index of that culture, someone who is viewed as an outsider might diminish the performance's value. This is illustrated in chapter two, when one performance of Inti Raymi was publically criticized for including outsiders. Therefore, there were few contexts where I could reasonably join in music making. So while observation was the dominant method, that does not mean that I was a fly on the wall. I was an active agent in those circumstances, but I was usually in the audience.

To what extent is being in an audience participation? There have been numerous musical studies on the relative passivity or engagement of the audience in different contexts, determined by the site and repertoire of the performance. For example, Racy (2004) explored how listening and performing certain kinds of Arab music can produce tarab, a combination of aesthetics and intense emotional engagement with the performer and the music in which the audience plays a role in achieving tarab. Subotnik (1996) famously critiqued the tradition of structured listening found in Western Art Music. Drawing on that critique, Dell'Antonio (2004) edited a book of essays entitled *Beyond Structural Listening?: Postmodern Modes of Hearing*. An example of postmodern hearing and audience engagement is his own analysis of MTV and the program *Beavis & Butt-head.* He concluded that, though the characters were portrayed as slacker morons, their commentary about the videos constituted "collective listening strategies [that]…embody a collective critical approach to video appraisal" (Dell'Antonio 2004:213). His argument for active listening and a critical critique went against stereotypes of MTV and other mediated forms of popular music listening as inherently passive and disempowering experiences. Taking a broader perspective on hearing and culture, Erlmann (2004) presented a collection of essays entitled *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity*. Rather than limiting the scope of inquiry to

events centered around music listening, such as concerts, *Hearing cultures* implies that "the ways in which people relate to each other through the sense of hearing also provide important insights into a wide range of issues confronting societies around the world as they grapple with the massive changes wrought by modernization, technologization, and globalization" (Erlmann 2004:3). At issue is "how listening has come to play a role in the ways people in modernizing societies around the globe deal with themselves as subjects in embodied, sensory, and especially auditory ways" (Erlmann 2004:5).

Small (1998) sought to redefine music, suggesting that it be thought of as a social practice rather than an autonomous object or as an experience exclusive to an individual. He wrote, "To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a music performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small 1998:9). While this definition explicitly makes all actors involved active, Small went on to discuss how the site of the performance, the performance itself, and the cultural expectations of those involved structure the ways and degrees to which people have agency. For example, he described the modern concert experience as "sharing with strangers." He wrote, "The concert hall thus presents us in a clear and unambiguous way with a certain set of relationships, in which the autonomy and privacy of the individual is treasured, a stance

of impersonal politeness and good manners is assumed, familiarity is rejected, and the performers and their performance, as long as it is going on, are not subject to the audience's response" (Small 1998:43).

Taken together, these examples demonstrate that audiences are engaged in something. Their presence, their actions, the rewards and risks connected to their presence and actions, and the various ways that their experiences construct subject positions and knowledge all point to participation in constituting the social context, even if they (or I) are not on stage. I discuss the issue of audience in the final chapter where I compare the varied composition of the audience at each event and discuss how the site, the content, and the actors involved in the performance result in a spectrum of engagement and participation.

Given that the central question of this research focuses on tourism, I shaped my participation to be more *like* that of a tourist. I write *like* with a caveat, my outward behavior of traveling, listening as an audience member, and filming the performance appeared to be very similar to other audience members, though my own understanding and desired outcome from my attendance was clearly different. I also limited the scope of my research to public events, festivals, restaurants and nightclubs. I traveled around the region and to other cities in Peru, as well as the Lake Titicaca region of Bolivia and

Quito, Ecuador. This is by no means to say that I focused exclusively on travelers at the expense of local musicians and dancers. On the contrary, I tried to understand the ways in which people in Cusco work in tourism and also travel themselves, in an attempt to break down the dichotomy of hosts and guests, or insiders and outsiders. It is also an attempt to understand many kinds of travel without privileging the leisure travel of European, North American, and Japanese tourists.

Limiting participation to that of a tourist and the field to public events serves two purposes, one theoretical and the other ethical. First, on a theoretical level, by drawing the empirical information from public events, I hope to cast doubt on the idea that the travel of leisure tourists could give them only a superficial understanding of culture and the socio-economic ramifications of tourism. With my own research, I wanted to contradict the idea that it is exclusively researchers of culture, such as ethnomusicologists or anthropologists, who have access to "real" culture, and thus an authoritative understanding of culture, while tourists must content themselves with a superficial façade.

Second, my decision to focus on public events, and to avoid an analytical perspective that would require intimate and extensive knowledge of people's personal and inner lives, was made for ethical reasons. People share personal information only

when they trust someone. In ethnographic research, building that kind of trusting relationship takes time. Ethically, it should also be a genuine relationship that is reciprocal in nature and of duration that serves both parties equally. Building that kind of relationship with tourists who pass through Cusco for only a few days was impossible. With the numerous festivals, restaurants, and pilgrimage that I observed, it was equally impossible to develop the kind of ethical relationship that I describe above with the hundreds of musicians and dancers who participated in those events. Rather than coerce people into confessing their lives to a relative stranger and rather than building relationships only to abandon them for the next festival, I focused on a public realm where people chose to participate for their own interests, acting as their own agents and not my subjects.

Why impose these limits? Isn't fieldwork supposed to allow researchers to go deeper into a culture to uncover what Malinowski referred to as:

> the *inponderabilia of actual life*…the routine of man's working day, the details of his care of the body, of the manner of taking food and preparing it; the tone of conversational and social life around the village fires, the existence of strong friendships or hostilities, and passing sympathies and dislikes between people…All these facts can and ought to be scientifically formulated and recorded, but it is necessary that this be done, not by a superficial registration of details, as is usually done by untrained observers, but with an effort at penetrating the mental

attitude expressed in them. (Malinowski 1922:19)

For analysis based on Malinowski's functionalist method or interpretive methods of anthropology (Geertz for example), such detail would be a necessity.

However, the analytical intent of this dissertation is not to interpret the hidden meaning in events or statements, nor to make complete ethnographic representation of a cultural group. Rather, the analytical perspective combines empirical knowledge gained through my fieldwork with a critical theoretical perspective based on scholarly research. No single theory shapes this analytical method. Both in fieldwork and in writing I tend to be both pragmatic and intuitive. I go with what appears most appropriate for that research situation and feels intellectually honest. Therefore, this analysis combines my experiences and observations as a researcher in the sense of a post-modern "in-between" subject position, with an interest in a discursive approach to cultural understanding related to cultural studies[5]. I am interested in music, tourism, and social interactions in Cusco not as natural objects which can be rendered whole through realist ethnography, but how those things are understood and acted upon in a variety of ways, expressed through the performance of musical repertoire, travel narratives, and

[5] Here I am particularly thinking of Stuart Hall's work on race as a floating signifier in which he reconciles the reality of differences among people that are clearly visible with the ways that societies

scholarly works. In understanding relationships of power, I primarily focus on how events that I witnessed or researched gave, or limited, opportunities for people to participate in performing cultural works, economic opportunities, and public protests. The discourse related to the activities is also at issue, since it is one way in which the fluidity and variety of everyday experience is categorized and inscribed with significance.

In thinking about how to employ critical theory and scholarly analytical perspectives for this dissertation, I return to the image of Frakenstein's monster, ugly with its different parts clearly stitched together; as soon as it was shocked into life, its creator worried that it would develop a life of its own. My own research and analysis feels stitched together on a theoretical level, but I did it because it seemed the best way to answer my research question and to honestly engage with social conditions in Cusco.

Feld's approach in *Sound and Sentiment* (1982) that tried to combine structuralism with hermeneutics inspired this approach to theories. Rather than letting theory dictate how he analyzed the research topic, Feld strategically took what he needed from theory to express the many facets found in the topic. Feld's work also inspired the discussion of a recurring metaphor. While Feld's analysis of metaphor

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have categorized and given meaning to those differences. It is a way of looking at culture as both real and

derived from the structuralist approach to myth, I define metaphor as an idea that connects seeming unconnected things. I use it as an analytical tool to consider issues related to tourism that do not connect empirically in the same time and space. Metaphor allows for the rendering of a complex understanding of music and tourism that a literal or realist representation of culture would not.

This, no doubt, puts limits on my knowledge, but I do not position this dissertation as representing the personal feelings or viewpoints of any particular people in Cusco, or as the only possible conclusion one can make about culture as a resource. I see this dissertation as one scholarly perspective on an issue in which Cusqueños and travelers can and do represent themselves, their perspectives and interests.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One, "Culture as a Resource: Historical and Theoretical Discussion," explores the historical and theoretical perspectives of culture as a resource in two ways. First, a brief historical survey outlines the institutions, people and laws that shaped the concept of culture as a resource. Second, I try to expose less obvious connections between folklore and travel in an effort to create a historical and theoretical framework

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constructed.

for the specific examples of culture as a resource in Cusco, Peru that are covered in subsequent chapters.

I argue that a history of bureaucratic administration and international development discourse influenced the concept of culture as a resource. This coalesced into the objects, performances, and economy of heritage. Rather than preserving traditions, heritage actively transforms them into new cultural productions for new contexts, particularly the marketplace of tourism. The discourse and practices of travel and folklore illustrate again the transformation of the culture of poor, rural inhabitants of the Andes in a way that aestheticizes poverty for the service of folklorists and, travelers without improving the lives of the rural poor.

Chapter Two, "Inti Raymi: Musical Aesthetics and Authenticity," discusses the modern revival and performance of the Inti Raymi festival. Cusqueños consciously use it as a positive, public representation of cultural identity and as a resource for economic development. I show how Cusqueños continue to make the performance relative to their lives by making it a site where politics, economics, and struggles for power become visible.

In what ways does the music of Inti Raymi remain relevant and reflect struggles for power? Interestingly, though the official performance of Inti Raymi has a

copyrighted script, there is no official, copyrighted score. This allows musical directors a certain amount of freedom. However, because of expectations of historic and aesthetic authenticity of Inca music, the music is limited to a segment of repertoire developed in the first part of the twentieth century by composers such as Manuel Monet, Roberto Ojeda Campana, Juan de Dios Aguirre, Baltazar Zegerra Pezo, and Francisco González Gamarra, and cultural groups such as *La Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico* and *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo*.

Chapter Three, "The Other Raymis: Cultural Resources at the Periphery," examines how small communities outside of Cusco have developed their own Inca ritual performances modeled on Inti Raymi in a effort to attract tourists beyond the traditional centers of tourism in Cusco. How successful are people in creating economic opportunities by copying the Inti Raymi model? Do they merely copy the example of Cusco or do they find creative ways to adapt the performance to their own values?

Chapter Four, "Who's a Tourist?" explores the theoretical questions and subject positions of culture researcher or ethnomusicologist, local, and tourist. In what ways can doing academic research while participating like a tourist break down the dichotomy of insiders vs. outsiders? While tourists may seem like the outsiders, *par*

excellence, I argue that subject positions, social interactions, and the knowledge created by those positions and interactions are in reality much more fluid.

Chapter Five, "Traveling Cusqueños: Señor de Qoyllur rit'i Pilgrimage," considers other practices of travel by Cusqueños. The pilgrimage has traditionally provided musicians with a chance to work and to express their devotion. Part of this devotion involves "jugando" [playing] in which people ask Señor de Qoyllur rit'i for assistance by buying what they desire with fake money. Some people buy passports and plane tickets for a chance to work in the United States or Europe.

Chapter Six, "Dinner and a Show: The Limits of 'Touristy'," discusses the opportunities that dinner shows give local musicians. These venues give some musicians in Cusco a steady gig and a chance to direct market their CDs. This model of work differs from the traditional pattern of work, where musicians worked sporadically at pilgrimages, religious festivals, and private events such as marriages and funerals. Finally, the nightclub scene has spawned a unique kind of informal work, the "jalador," literally puller, whose job is to charm tourists in the *plaza de armas* to attract business.

Chapter Seven, "Conclusion; Culture as a Resource in Cusco," synthesizes the historical and theoretical framework of the first chapter with the empirical examples from chapters two-six. The information in each chapter is summarized, and then

conclusions from each chapter about culture as a resource in Cusco and the metaphor of picturesque filth are brought together in the concluding analysis.

Chapter One

Culture as a Resource: Historical and Theoretical Discussion

> A cultural resource consists of a number of physical, chemical, or biological features; at the same time, it consists of ideas, events, and relationships. This duality is evident in cultural resources as small as a penny or as large as the Statue of Liberty. Fashioned from copper, both share common material properties. Shaped into symbols–one of economic value, the other of a fundamental human right–both also serve as expressions of ideas.
>
> From *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (1998) by the National Parks Service

As stated in the introduction, this dissertation examines culture as a resource by tracing historical and theoretical issues and by examining the local level through empirical examples. This chapter explores the historical and theoretical perspective of culture as a resource in two ways. First, a brief historical survey outlines the institutions, people, and laws that shaped the concept of culture as a resource. Second, I try to expose less obvious connections between folklore and travel in an effort to create a historical and theoretical framework for the specific examples of culture as a resource in Cusco, Peru, that are covered in subsequent chapters.

From National Parks to World Heritage

The word resource is commonly used in reference to natural materials such as timber, minerals and oil that are extracted and processed industrially for profit. How, then, did the term resource come to be applied to culture and, more importantly, what is the significance of designating culture a resource? To put this transformation of culture into historical context one must begin with the National Parks Service (NPS). Founded as a federal bureau in 1916, the NPS unified under the administration of one government institution the oversight of federal lands that had been placed under protection through various laws and decrees since the late 19th century. This points to an underlying belief that land could not simply exist in a wild state. To make best use of and preserve land, it needed to be brought under the rule of law and administered by professionals.

Culture was drawn into this equation with the preservation of historical sites through administration, which also began in this era with the 1889 preservation of Casa Grande archaeological site in Arizona (Mackintosh 1991: 15). The 1906 Antiquities Act gave the U.S. president the power to declare national monuments on federally controlled land. This law was superseded by the 1935 Historic Sites Act. Along with designating monument status, the Historic Sites Acts funded surveys of historic sites,

but provided funding for little else. The next step was the Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

The Historic Preservation Act was a reaction to the development boom of the 1950s. Highways, urban renewal, suburban sprawl, and new factories all seemed to threaten historic sites. From within the NPS, people like Dr. Ernest Allen Connally, who had a PhD in architecture and began working with the NPS in the 1950s on the Historic Building Survey, made a case for federal management of historic sites. When the Historic Preservation Act passed in 1966, Connally became head of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation for the NPS.

Based on his experience preserving culture administratively with the NPS, Connally worked with UNESCO to write the 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,* which created the World Heritage List**.** The World Heritage Convention developed a loose set of criteria for historic and cultural sites around the world based on a combination of natural and cultural significance. Countries make nominations of their choosing and UNESCO provides recognition, and funding for preservation projects. This combination of loose criteria, recognition and funding for institutional involvement in culture spawned two other significant documents from UNESCO: The Universal Declaration on Cultural

Diversity in 2001, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003. Cusco is scheduled to become the first UNESCO branch office for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

While efforts to preserve heritage may claim to defend culture from modernizing changes, in reality heritage projects are themselves agents of change as they transform both the value and context of what is being preserved. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett described heritage as "the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:369). Heritage is then a "mode of cultural production" that creates things that appear to have no limits in their form or context: museums, performances, CDs, webpages, conferences, cultural institutions, books, and even a list. "World heritage is first and foremost a list. Everything on the list, whatever its previous context, is now placed in a relationship with other masterpieces. The list is the context for everything on it" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:56-57). The entire city of Cusco has been on the UNESCO World Heritage List since the 1980s.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) outlined the logic of cultural heritage as metaculture and revealed important aspects to the logic of heritage projects. For my interest with culture as a resource, her most important conclusion described how heritage acts as a force of modernization by drawing traditions into the economy:

> While persistence in old life ways may not be economically viable and may well be inconsistent with economic development and with national ideologies, the valorization of those life ways as heritage (and integration of heritage into economies of cultural tourism) is economically viable, consistent with economic development theory, and can be brought into line with national ideologies of cultural uniqueness and modernity. Fundamental to this process is the heritage economy as a modern economy. For this and other reasons, heritage may well be preferred to the pre-heritage culture (cultural practices prior to their being designated heritage) that it is intended to safeguard. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:61)

Paradoxically, then, while heritage claims to protect traditional places and practices from loss due to modernization, in reality heritage transforms the value and context of traditions *for* modernization. This results in a proliferation of new cultural productions, endowed with a plasticity that allows them to adapt to a myriad of new contexts, the most notable of which are capitalist markets.

The subsequent chapters of this book examine how heritage, folklore, and travel have drawn aspects of Cusco's culture into the economy. It is my intention that showing

how these new cultural productions and contexts are actually lived by people will give depth and complexity to the situation. In this chapter, I trace out the history of culture as a resource and its underlying theory. However, in practice outcomes are not predetermined.

Culture Rescues Development

Culture became a resource not only through the institutions and discourse of heritage, but also through the discourse and practices of economic development. As the quotation from Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) notes, cultural heritage is consistent with development since it forces practices to find new value as a part of such things as museums, performances, and travel itineraries. In understanding how culture was transformed into a resource, it is important to consider both how it was used in development through international tourism, and how it "rescued" development by providing answers to critiques about the lack of local agency in traditional development projects.

According to Escobar (1995), development projects and discourse historically are linked to the post-World War II period when Western countries and international institutions like the United Nations feared that poverty, illiteracy, and unsanitary conditions would foment radicalization and leave the masses of the "third world"

susceptible to Soviet influence. Escobar's study examined the discourse of development as a tool of power that made development ubiquitous and left Western-style industrialization and capitalism as the only option to satisfy that ambition. Lacking the infrastructure and industrialization to leap into development, many "third world" nations turned to tourism as a way to participate in global capitalism by casting their culture as a site to see and a handicraft to buy.

Part of development's power has been its ability to adapt. Beginning in the 1980s, concern for the interests of local populations transformed some discourses and practices of development. Development continued as an unquestioned goal, but in an altered form that included not just material projects, such as dams, but also intangibles such as heritage and music. I term this "culture for development." Emerging from the discourse of international institutions such as UNESCO and the Inter-American Foundation, "culture for development" depicted other development projects as unethical failures because they focused on Western-style industrial development, irrespective of local conditions, culture, and desires. Rather than one-size-fits-all development, "culture for development" claimed to respect local conditions and agency by assuming that, though they lacked capital and technology, locals possessed a unique culture, which must be developed as a sustainable resource in order to preserve it from the

onslaught of modernization. Because this discourse defined culture as the shared traditions, beliefs, art, and expressions of a people, using culture for development would organically sync it with local values and be more successful than Western-style industrialization.

An excellent example of the intervention of institutions and the transformation of culture into an object in "culture for development" can be found on the island of Taquile, Peru, located in Lake Titicaca, which lies on the border between Peru and Bolivia. Healy and Zorn (1994) described how Taquile's residents entered the tourist market and gradually gained control of the island's tourist business. In 1968 the author Healy, while working as a Peace Corps volunteer, convinced some local people to sell their traditional weaving on consignment to tourists in a Peace Corps administered shop in Cusco, the regional capital of the neighboring province. This first successful venture in the tourism industry led to increased interaction with the market and led the islanders to bring tourists to Taquile on community-owned boats.

Despite the fact that "culture for development" critiques Western style development projects funded by Western governments, projects of "culture for development" have themselves been funded by government agencies such as the Peace Corps. In another example, the journal *Grassroots Development* details projects funded

by the U.S. government through the Inter-American Foundation (IAF). The IAF is a government assistance agency that began under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969. In a monograph based on cases in that journal, Kleymeyer (1994) defined culture-based development as:

> Rooted in respect for the wisdom and ways of ethnic peoples and the poor in general, this approach seeks to retain their special cultural strengths and contributions while enabling them to achieve necessary changes in their social and economic condition…to improve their chances for survival and well-being through change that they control and carry-out. Their cultural heritage becomes the foundation upon which equitable and sustainable development is built. (Kleymeyer 1994:2)

By directly appropriating aspects of the local culture, "culture for development" claims to salvage development. But just how does this new style of development really incorporate local culture? As the example from Healy and Zorn (1994) and others (Bryne Swain 1989; Stephen 1991; and Meisch 2002) illustrate, local culture is often objectified into handicrafts that are easily sold to tourists. What Kleymeyer neglected, but the case studies powerfully demonstrate, is that "culture for development" projects conflate culture as the way of life of a community with the objects that index that way of life, such as weaving in Taquile, or *molas* of the Kuna of Panama. Rather than a new model of economic development related to the way of life, "culture for development" follows the old model of commodification. Local people become producers and retailers

and traditional objects become products. In this way, “culture for development” draws people and culture into capitalist markets.

In sum, the example of Taquile, Peru discussed in this section reveals how the logic of administration through institutions and objectification of cultural practices transformed culture into a resource. The final section of this chapter explores how folklore and travel also transform culture into a resource, with the additional perspective of how culture as a resource then changes people’s conceptions and experiences with poverty.

Aestheticizing Poverty in Folklore and Travel

> The town of Constantine has not much to commend it as a place of residence. It is neither clean nor well built, while sights and smells the reverse of agreeable are constantly distressing the optic and olfactory nerves. And yet there are perhaps few places where an artist could find more charming subjects for his pencil—curious bits of architecture mingling with Nature in its most beautiful and grandest aspects, fine touches of brilliant color, and quaint winding streets and bazaars,--everywhere the picturesque. Filth and confusion, indeed, but still it is the very confusion that an artist loves. (“Our Visit to the Desert” 1878)

In addition to the interventions made by heritage and development, travel and folklore have also played roles in shaping culture into a resource. Like heritage and

development, they transform the value and context of cultural practices, often creating new modes of cultural production, which include festival performances and objectified material goods. However, folklore and travel add another facet to the understanding of culture as a resource. Folklore and travel have had an unusual relationship to poverty, in which poverty is both reviled and made useful. I term this aestheticizing poverty and use the metaphor "picturesque filth" to analyze it.

As the opening quotation demonstrates, when people travel, they often must confront poverty in the places they visit. In travel literature, this encounter between the traveler and poverty is expressed in terms of the discomfort of the traveler or sensory experiences (sights, smells, sounds) that are simultaneously revolting and enjoyable. As proponents of development assert, travel transforms poverty, but in unintended ways. Rather than improving the lives of people, travel and representations of travel transform poverty through sensibilities and discourse that privilege the subjectivity of the traveler. While some authors (Urry 2002) emphasize the power of the gaze in travel, analysis of picturesque filth demonstrates that the other senses, such as hearing, also come into play.

My analysis of folklore and travel is influenced by Pratt's (1992) study of the discourse and representations found in travel writing on Africa and the Americas. She

argued that travel literature created a system of knowledge about the world that both reflected and supported the power of imperialism. Pratt's study is relevant not only as a model of discursive analysis, but also because she recognized that travel literature was part of the broader issues of class, science, industrialization, and urbanization. She outlined several discursive trends in travel literature, beginning with eighteenth century travelers' pursuit of a system of knowledge, with a global perspective of the earth: Linnaeus's classification system. She wrote:

> The systematizing of nature represents not only a European discourse about non-European worlds,…but an urban discourse about non-urban worlds, and a lettered, bourgeois discourse about non-lettered, peasant worlds…Within Europe, the systematizing of nature came at a time when relations between urban centers and the countryside were changing rapidly. Urban bourgeoisies began to intervene on a new scale in agricultural production, seeking to rationalize production… (Pratt 1992:34-5)

These changes in urban/rural and bourgeois/peasant relations also played a significant role in folklore investigations in both Europe and Peru, and illustrate a crucial link between travel and folklore both as practices and bodies of knowledge. As chapter 2 will discuss, in Latin America urban intellectuals attempted to solve the "Indian problem" and their country's identity crisis through professional investigations of

folklore, history, and archeology. Because it focused on native rather than Western culture, the movement became known as *indigenismo*.

When travel literature and new social relations are put into a broader historical perspective, more significant issues come to light:

> The systemization of nature coincides with the height of the slave trade, the plantation system, colonial genocide in North America and South Africa, slave rebellions in the Andes, the Caribbean, North America, and elsewhere…Other genealogies for the Enlightenment processes of standardization, bureaucracy, and normalization then come into view. For what were the slave trade and the plantation system if not massive experiments in social engineering and discipline, serial production, the systematization of human life, the standardization of persons? (Pratt 1992:36)

In the twentieth century the efforts of folklorists, *indigenistas*, and local elites to modernize Cusco exemplified similar efforts at social engineering and discipline, created similar systems of knowledge and discursive modes of representation, and involved the working of power in changing social relations between urban/rural and bourgeois/peasant groups. Like Pratt (1992), I analyze both the discourse and actions of specific individuals within their historical context to understand how travel and folklore: 1) classified, standardized, and packaged culture to be used for new social

contexts developing in twentieth century Cusco and for consumption by tourists; and 2) narrated its own "anti-conquest" by aestheticizing poverty.

For the purpose of this discussion, I use a narrow concept of the picturesque. Whether through Gilpin's essay or descriptions of a romantic picturesque ruin, the picturesque has often related to travel. Rather than a purely rational and abstract aesthetic movement, the picturesque was meant to be a subjective and embodied aesthetic, where the subjectivity of the visitor found pleasure in bringing together architecture, the landscape, and people. The picturesque movement placed value on the irregular, the romantic, and the ruin, made pleasurable through in imagination of the traveler. In his essays, Gilpin wrote:

> It may perhaps be objected to the pleasurable circumstances, which are thus said to attend picturesque travel, that we meet as many disgusting, as pleasing objects; and the man of taste therefore will be as often offended, as amused. But this is not the case. There few parts of nature, which do not yield a picturesque eye some amusement. (Gilpin 1792:54)…
> But if we let the *imagination* loose, even scenes like these, administer great amusement. The imagination can plan hills; (Gilpin 1792:56)

Picturesque travel offered travelers a new way to both see *and* experience the world in a way that transformed the natural and social world into pleasurable experiences.

To narrow this, theoretically I draw from Tirado Bramen's (2000) concept of the urban picturesque. She wrote, "…the picturesque sought to make modernity less terrifying by making it familiar through a gradualist approach that linked old concepts with new phenomena….[it] promised to turn the urban realities of class disparity and ethnic heterogeneity into potentially pleasant aspects of the modern experience" (Tirado Bramen 2000: 444). Besides making immigration and urban poverty more pleasant through specific aesthetic vocabulary, the urban picturesque in literature also functioned to Americanize urban immigrants, thus integrating them into the nation. "The urban picturesque was an important vehicle for transforming immigrants from social threats to cultural resources, as signs not only of urban identity but also of a national one. It was part of a larger process of urbanizing a national identity by linking New York cosmopolitanism with modern Americanism" (Tirado Bramen 2000:446).

I argue that picturesque filth functions as an ongoing attempt to integrate indigenous people and culture in the Andes into the Peruvian nation and into global capitalism through tourism, folklore studies and music. Tourism, in Cusco, promoted as a form of social and economic development, and folklore studies of music both emerged from the *indigenismo* movement during the height of the debate on the "Indian problem." This debate centered on how best to improve the lives and social status of

Peru's indigenous population by integrating them into the national economy and identity. Folklore and travel integrated and hierarchically situated indigenous people into a national context and capitalist economy by finding something valuable in their present state of poverty, which therefore integrated people without materially improving their lives. This is a kind of "cultural citizenship" studied by Ong (1996), which is the "everyday processes where by people…are made into subjects of a particular nation-state" (Ong 1996:737). Cultural practices are shaped-to-fit or criticized for not meeting ideals of national of cultural identity. Chapter two will discuss in detail how intellectuals and artists in Cusco undertook a project like this in the revival of Inti Raymi. In this chapter, I briefly examine three examples of travel writing where poverty is aestheticized in Cusco.

Picturesque filth, a phrase found frequently in travel literature[6], reflects travelers' reaction to poverty in Cusco in which they transform it to make their own experience more comfortable. Dirt, disease, and a lack of consumer goods, all outward indicators of poverty, become enjoyable scenes of local culture and a guarantee of authenticity for cultural goods purchased by tourists. On her 1937 trip to Cusco, Mary Kidder, the wife of a foreign archaeologist, described her experiences in Cusco. She

wrote, “Across the dusty street from the railroad office is the market [San Pedro], which I was determined to stroll through—I was rewarded with a view of picturesque filth which I shall remember all my life. Indians so dirty and some so diseased as to be repulsive squatted everywhere, their fruits or vegetables or dirty cheeses spread out on filthy shawls before them” (Kidder 1942:66). Kidder’s book *No Limits but the Sky* was published posthumously and represents her experience accompanying her husband on archaeological research trips in the Cusco and Puno departments of Peru.

However, not all the “picturesque filth” Kidder encountered was unenjoyable or unrewarding. On the train from Juliaca to Cusco she observed, “Juliaca is surely depressing. The Hotel and Church which face the square are ill-kept and dirty. The Indians who crowded round the train are dirty too, but picturesque in their bright costumes. They offered all sorts of knitted things for sale at ridiculously cheap prices, and I couldn’t resist a pair of white woolen gloves with fancy wrists for which I gave 50 centavos” (Kidder 1942:51).

The scene of native people in the Andes selling goods to travelers on trains is one that is often repeated in travel literature. H. J. Mozans traveled with two Yale

[6] Besides “Our Visit to the Desert” (1878) and Kidder (1942), see also “Diggins and Diggees of the West Country” (1855) and Taylor (1863).

students on a train from Puno to Cusco in 1907 and he described the following scene, which puts a different perspective on the practice:

> In some way or other it had become known that a special train was coming, and a large crowd had gathered at the depot, in which, conspicuous by their peculiar somber dress, consisting of black trousers, dark-colored ponchos, and broad-brimmed, black felt hats and *usutas*, or sandals of llama-skin, were a number of Indian alcaldes, each with his staff of office. This stake resembles a long axe, and has a brass or silver head and ferule and a number of rings around it, one for each year the owner has held office. The Indian is very proud of this staff and always carries it with him when he appears in public. My companions tried to purchase a couple from the alcaldes present, but they soon discovered that there are some things that money cannot buy—among them the Indian's much-prized insignia of office. (Mozans 1911:204-5)

Mozans's 1907 trip from Cuba, through Panama and down the Western half of South America from Ecuador to Bolivia, was described in the volumes *Up the Orinoco and down the Magdalena,* covering the first half of the voyage, and *Following the Conquistadors Along the Andes and Down the Amazon* which covered the second stage of the trip and included an introduction written by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and was dedicated to Charles M. Schwab. With such acquaintances, what kind of man was H. J. Mozans? Mozans was the pseudonym of Father John Augustine Zahm. A man of broad scholarly interests, Zahm served in the faculty and administration of both Notre Dame

and Holy Cross University. He wrote *Sound and Music* in 1892, but is better known for trying to reconcile Catholicism and science in works such as *Bible, Science and Faith* (1894) and *Evolution and Dogma* (1896). In the early 20th century Zahm turned his attention to travel and Hispanic-American studies.

Unlike Kidder who was, at times, repulsed by what she saw, Zahm took pains to be pleased with everything and everyone that he encountered. Zahm's narrative intertwined empirical observations and narrative of his travel with knowledge gained from his extensive reading of other travel accounts, contemporary scientific studies and Spanish chronicles. Zahm often observed that his route followed that of the conquistadors (Mozans 1911:203). Like Twain in *Innocents Abroad*, he frequently reported his delight in arriving at places about which he had previously read. References to Rome, Cairo, etc. show that the author viewed the world, present and past, through the concept of the advancement of civilization, but also took pains to dispel negative attitudes about indigenous people with empirical anecdotes. However, the author juxtaposed these views and picturesque descriptions of the landscape incongruously against some grisly stories of suffering and poverty. I say incongruous because the author offered no comments or analysis to indicate any connections in his mind to the

modernization efforts he happily experienced and reported with the conditions of indigenous people.

Zahm traveled by special rail car from Puno on a new line that was under construction. His mode of transportation and the manner in which he was courteously greeted by the highest local officials are frequently recounted scenes in Zahm's narrative. On route to Cusco, he traveled as far as the line had progressed to Checacupe, where he was met by the Missouri born engineer, who he referred to as Mr. Mc_____. Mr. Mc_____ reported to Zahm that he had 1500 Indians working for him on the railroad because the government obliged them to work 15-30 days a year. They were paid 50 cents a day in silver and had to supply their own food. Only 10% continued to work after the forced service term had ended (Mozans 1911: 204-5). This was followed by comments on the use of coca by the workers, and Zahm recorded a grisly tale told by Mr. Mc_____:

> One of our peons was run over by a car and had his foot amputated. He was immediately taken to the depot to await the company's surgeon…But when he arrived the Indian was gone. After searching for him, he was found in the plaza nearby, apparently as apathetic, so far as pain was concerned, as if nothing had happened. He had tied a rag around his ankle to stanch the flow of blood, and had made his way unaided and alone from the depot to the plaza of the town…He declared the he experienced no pain whatever, a statement that astonished all

> of us beyond measure. On investigation we learned that he was a *coquero*—a habitual user of coca—and we then inferred that, in consequence of this habitual, if not excessive use of this anesthetic, his sensor nerve had become insensible to pain. (Mozans 1911:206-7)

If Zahm objected to the forced labor or dangerous working conditions that made his train travel possible, he never mentioned it; instead, he jumped to an observation that Checacupe was of little interest other than its historical connection to Tupac Amaru. Zahm was not insensible to the suffering of indigenous people, but he wrote about it in only abstract terms:

> Most of the people we met on the way [to Quito] were Indians, for in Ecuador, as in the greater part of South America, Indians and mestizos constitute the majority of the population. Here, as elsewhere, we found them gentle, patient and industrious; fond of their homes and devoted to their families. Many of them lived in extreme poverty and exhibited traces of trial and suffering that could not be concealed. My sympathy, I confess, always went out to these neglected and oppressed people…Ah, if they could only have had the advantages of that government which the saintly [Bartolomé] Las Casas had planned for them, how different would be their condition to-day! (Mozans 1911:94-5)

It is significant that Zahm did not discuss the poverty he saw in terms of empirical examples, nor did he let this observation interfere with his enjoyment of travel and the beauty of everything that he experienced. I argue that it was both the experience

of travel (seeing what he had read and being hosted by local elites) and the representation of the people and places he visited (beautiful landscapes, colorful dress, and plaintive songs) that acted as a barrier to understanding how poverty and travel related to modernization and capitalism. In this way travel aestheticizes poverty. If the scene looks right and, I argue, sounds right, then the observer thinks no more.

As a final example of Zahm's aestheticization of poverty, consider this pastoral ideal that he described:

> Antiquities, however, are not the only objects to claim the attention of the traveler on the way from Puno to Cuzco. There are first of all the people, mostly Aymara and Quichua Indians. All along the road one will see numerous towns and villages, and many extensive haciendas…The sheep and the cattle are often in the care of pretty little shepherdesses and *vaqueras*—cow-girls—who, in spite of their desolate surroundings, seem to be pictures of health and contentment. One of these graceful vaqueras, seated on a rock handling a distaff or playing the *pincullu*—Indian flute—while watching the grazing kine, would be an ideal subject for the brush of a Millet, a Mauve or a Poggenbeek…[quotes poem]. (Mozans 1911:201)

This example of "health and contentment" was immediately followed by observations on the meager diet of the people. He wrote, "So cold is the climate of the elevated tableland that the soil yields but little for the support of its inhabitants, except barley, quinoa, oca, a certain variety of bean, and potatoes" (Mozans 1911:201). After

describing the process of freeze-drying potatoes into *chuño*, Zahm commented on how it was incorporated into a typical dish:

> Boiled with vegetables and fragments of meat and fish…it constitutes *chupe*—the staff life of the *serranos*—mountaineers. At times, it is the only kind of food obtainable among the poorer classes of the inhabitants. Surprise is sometimes manifested that these people should be able to subsist on such a diet, but there is nothing more remarkable about it than the unvarying rice diet of the Chinese coolie, or the never-changing macaroni of the Neapolitan lazzarone. (Mozans 1911:202)

The real surprise is not that people live on *chupe*, but Zahm's own inability to reconcile his representation of a pastoral ideal juxtaposed against real hardship. Why did people live on *chupe*? What role did the hacienda system and forced labor play? It is hard to understand why a sympathetic and educated man like Zahm was unable to even ask questions like these.

Travel writer Paul Theroux opened his chapter on Peru by observing that in the late 1970s foreign tourists went to Peru because it was the poorest country in South America; and that poverty translated to cheap prices for goods and services for tourists. He described third world tourism as "the mobile rich making a blind blundering visitation on the inert poor" (Theroux 1979:300). Theroux chronicled his own travels in the book *The Old Patagonia Express: By Train through the Americas*, in which he

presents himself as the seasoned traveler in a world that holds few surprises. He stands alone, with one critical eye turned on other travelers and the other eye on the places and people they visit.

In a scene recounting his own adventures at a local bar in Cusco, Theroux wrote, "The small boy and the old man had been playing sad twanging music. It seemed so melancholy, this barefoot boy singing in such a low-down place. The music stopped. The boy took off his cloth cap and went among the tables, collecting coins. We gave him some. He bowed, then returned to his songs. 'He is poor,' I said. 'Seventy percent of Peru is poor,' said Gustavo" (Theroux 1979:307).

The poignancy of the scene contributes to the appeal of the passage. It is an anesthetization of poverty that represents Theroux as a traveler who frequents local bars while ignoring any deeper understanding of poverty in the city of Cusco. In his use of anesthetization, Pratt (1992) connected Theroux to Victorian travelers and writers, such as Richard Burton. She wrote:

> except that where Burton found beauty, symmetry, order, the sublime, Moravia and Theroux find the esthetic opposites: ugliness, incongruity, disorder, and triviality. In reading beauty, order, and grandeur in his landscape, Burton constituted it verbally as a worthy prize…Moravia and Theroux, on the other hand, are speaking from the 1970s, deep in the postcolonial era of 'underdevelopment' and decolonization. Few pristine worlds

> remain for Europeans to discover, and the old ones have long since belied the myth of the civilizing mission. The impulse of these postcolonial metropolitan writers is to condemn what they see, trivialize it, and dissociate themselves utterly from it. It is as if there were no history tying the North American Theroux to Spanish America…despite the fact that much of what they are lamenting is the depredations of western-induced dependency. (Pratt 1992: 217-218)

Picturesque filth includes not only ideas and experiences represented in discourse, but also material goods. I collected postcards and CDs with this theme. The One example is a postcard that was also used as an album cover by a group I saw playing in a tourist restaurant in Urubamba in August 2006. The image's copyright is owned by Gerard Rio and printed in a series by the author Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, a NGO founded in Cusco in 1974 to study and preserve Andean culture. The image depicts two young children, next two a straw and stone hut with two puppies inside. Clearly, the children and the puppy are cute, but a closer look at their clothes reveals that the children are poor. However, a close look is not the intention for this object. Just pop in the CD; it sounds like Andean music. Flip over the post card; write the weather's been great and wish you were here.

Like travel, folklore has aestheticized poverty by making it both the repository of traditional culture and the authentic source of new cultural productions. Since its

inception in the nineteenth century, folklorists believed that the rural poor, because they were often illiterate and had little access to modern media, had preserved ancient music, dances, and history in their cultural expressions. Chapter two will discuss in detail how, in Cusco, folklorists tried to recover Inca culture by collecting and transforming certain examples of music and dance into Inti Raymi and other folk performances that incorporated these new cultural productions into tourism.

This chapter's discussion of folklore is not intended to be comprehensive in scope or theory, though such studies have informed this one. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) presented a critical history of the discipline. Roel Mendizábal (2000) explored the history of folklore in Peru. De la Cadena (2000) and Torino (1991, 1993 and 2004) discussed the politics of culture in both the study of performance of folk music in Peru. Finally, Mendoza (2000 and 2006) contributed valuable studies of the music and dance repertoire in Cusco and explored how performances shaped identity. Instead, I intend to focus narrowly in this chapter on folklorists as travelers since their reasons for traveling and how they represented their travels, and the communities they visited, in order to shed light on the relationships between poverty, culture and travel.

As noted above, folklore activities must be considered within the historical context in which they operated as an intervention between the urban centers and rural

periphery. As non-participants in cosmopolitan, modern, urban culture, rural inhabitants were thought to have unwittingly preserved the “survivals” of pre-industrial culture. Because of the inevitable progress of modernity, folklorists were needed to collect, categorize, and preserve this historical culture before it was lost to modernization.

However, rather than innocently discovering “survivals,” folklorists actually created them, in a sense, by playing active roles in the processes of modernization that built an urban center of power and excluded segments of society from it. As they selectively celebrated and transformed certain aspects of culture, there was a corresponding reverberation in the ignored or rejected parts of culture. Culture as a resource does not embrace all aspects of culture equally. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett noted, “Long processes of 'cultural evolution,' violent revolutions, systematic programs of reform, and processes of absorption leave behind what they have rejected. Zones of repudiation, where the outtakes of a cultural editing process are to be found, for a *genial* (repository) of sorts (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:297). Folklore, then, was a process that both rejected certain practices as anachronisms doomed to extinction, while simultaneously transforming them into objects of scholarly knowledge and revaluing them as cultural heritage. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett wrote, “...the repudiated is transvalued as heritage. The very term *folklore* marks a transformation of errors into archaisms and

their transvaluation once they are safe for preservation, exhibition, and even nostalgia and revival" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:298). How did repudiation and recuperation in folklore take shape in the region of Cusco, Peru? Here are three examples, all of which demonstrate how folklorists traveled to rural communities that they viewed as poor and peripheral, only to transform rural culture into cultural resources for performance or publication in urban centers.

Aldolph Bandelier (1840-1914), a student of Lewis Henry Morgan, investigated social evolutionary ideas about native culture in the Americas through extensive travel of the American southwest, Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia. Bandelier devoted many years to research in Peru and Bolivia (1892-1903) because he thought that there he might uncover the myth of the origins of the inhabitants of Cusco. "The most authentic sources for aboriginal Indian traditions are songs, orations, and tales, known to the members of religious societies of which every Indian tribe had at least the rudiments" (Bandelier 1904: 97). After some difficult travel to Lake Titicaca, Bandelier was initially disappointed in his efforts. He repudiated his native informants since they had only recently traveled to the area themselves. He wrote:

> On the Island of Titicaca the changes which its Indian population has undergone, and the promiscuous origin of the present inhabitants, make it very doubtful if any original folklore may still be found...Their present members may have been born there,

> but their parents or grandparents resided elsewhere and their lore does not embody traditions from very remote periods. Therefore, at the very inception of our stay on the Island of Titicaca we were assured that there was no trace of ancient folklore in the recollection of its inhabitants. (Bandelier 1904:197)

Bandelier's journey was not a total loss as he collected various origin narratives which, with his expert analysis in combination with the reading of colonial era Spanish chronicles, revealed that two mythical founders, Mama Ojilla and Manco Capac, traveled from the Titicaca region to the Cusco valley.

This example illustrates two important points. First, while he repudiated the local inhabitants for their "promiscuous origin," Bandelier was silent on the social, political, and economic factors that caused rural, indigenous inhabitants of the Andes to move. Second, though initially rejected, the information became valuable through Bandelier's expert analysis that turned it into proper folklore.

Folklorists from the Cusco region searched for the purest music in the poorest and most isolated communities, equating access to commodities with cultural contamination by modernity. Occasionally their writings referred explicitly to poverty. For example, "…poverty is the true mother and guardian of folklore…the people who have the least money are, at least, the richest in cultural and spiritual experience and in general folk assets" (Hijar Soto 1990: 16). Note that the people were poor, but the

folklore was an asset. By selecting and transforming aesthetically pleasing dance, music, and costumes into the content of performances in urban centers, folklore operates similarly to the picturesque filth of travel.

Instead of directly referring to poverty, other folklorists mention indigenous communities' distance from urban centers and their lack of capitalism. This distance, of course, required the folklorist to travel. The noted Cusqueño composer, violinist and folklorist Policarpo Caballero Farfan collected hundreds of examples of folk music during his travels in the early twentieth century. He wrote that the folklorist, "must insert himself in the mountain population and climb the Andean mountains and live there with the Indians, assisting with their everyday labors and festivals and ceremonial rituals until steeped in his real art" (Caballero Farfan 1988:45).

Cabellero Farfan used the musical material that he collected on his journeys as the source for his book about Inca music, published posthumously, as well as the inspiration for his numerous compositions. There has been much controversy surrounding the folklorists-composers of Cusco, and other Peruvian composers such as Daniel Alomía Robles, as to whether their compositions were original works or merely transcriptions of melodies set to harmony. Mendoza (2006) argued that the compositions cannot be judged abstractly, but need to be seen as the result of a complex

social interaction. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett noted, folklore, like heritage, results in new cultural productions. The aesthetic merits matter less than an understanding of how these performances came to exist; they were the result of an intervention by urban elites into poor, rural communities. While poverty and isolation were viewed as valuable cultural preservatives, folklore selected certain practices, transported them to new urban contexts and performance and publication, while leaving poor, rural inhabitants behind.

In sum, the concept of culture as a resource first emerged historically in the late nineteenth century as part of efforts to control both undeveloped land and historic sites through professional administration. Through the work of people such as Dr. Ernest Allen Connally, administration for preservation developed into the institutions, discourses, and practices of heritage. Heritage actively transforms what it seeks to preserve by transforming traditions into new cultural productions for new contexts, such as handicrafts, museums and folk festivals, which are frequented by tourists. Heritage preserves traditions by making them economically viable and in that way culture becomes a resource. Related to tourism, culture became a resource through development projects that tried to overcome the problems of traditional Western style development by using elements of local culture rather than copying large-scale industrialization. Projects such as the Taquile Island handicrafts objectified certain

examples of local culture and transformed them into goods to be sold to tourists. Finally, both travel and folklore operated under the metaphor of picturesque filth in ways that aestheticized poverty to make it useful for the experience of travelers and as the source of new cultural productions, such as folk festivals in urban centers. Folklorists and travelers selected and rejected certain parts of culture without materially changing the lives of the rural poor that they came in contact with during their travels. The culture of the rural poor is treated as a resource by others. How those resources were used in the revival of Inti Raymi is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Inti Raymi: Performing Culture and Tourism

> In narrow streets between the indestructible Inca walls,
> bare-footed Indians in red-striped ponchos and platter shaped
> hats jostle with brash American tourists and tight-lipped
> cameramen. For each other's benefit they dance and sing,
> film and stare, and, at the fortress of Sacsahuaman overlooking
> the town, players re-enact the pageant of Inti Raymi (438).
>
> From "The Exploration of Huagaruncho: A Peruvian Journey"
> (1957) by G. C. Band

Inti Raymi means sun festival and during the Inca civilization it was a ritual to mark the solstice. The modern reenactment of Inti Raymi began in 1944 when a group of local artists and intellectuals wanted to create a festival highlighting Inca history and culture. This revival was part of the *indigenismo* movement in which artists, intellectuals, and some politicians in early 20th century Latin America sought to redefine society based on indigenous rather than Hispanic history. In Cusco, *indigenismo* reformed the university, which added both archaeology and folklore departments (Super 1994), and influenced the creation of a new repertoire of music and dance (Mendoza 2000; 2006). A strong desire for social and economic reform also drove these projects

as much as the need to create a new identity. Because of this, in Cusco many aspects of culture have intermingled with economic concerns since the mid-twentieth century. This chapter on Inti Raymi explores concrete examples of the entanglement of culture and socio-economic advancement through tourism in Cusco's largest cultural and tourism festival: Inti Raymi. In that exploration there are four interrelated issues: how the musical repertoire and aesthetic of Inti Raymi type music affects local musical practices; how over time the festival relates to changing perceptions of authenticity, both local and external; how the festival generates economic opportunities and for whom; and issues of power illustrated by how the performance sites are controlled, and how musical repertoire and performances are controlled.

Historical Background and Critical Considerations

Two historic periods are central to setting the context for the revival of Inti Raymi: the 16th century just before and after Spanish colonization; and the *indigenismo* period of the 20th century. Discussion of scholarship, historical documents, and artifacts about Pre-Columbian rituals and music help explain what was recreated, how, and why.

The earliest written sources on the Inca's Inti Raymi ritual are chronicles and histories from the Spanish Colonial Era. These documents are the primary sources for modern historians, including those who sought to revive Inti Raymi in the 1940s.

Historians in Cusco were not insensible to the bitter irony that their only written sources to recover the Inca past came from those who conquered the Incas. With that in mind, the most influential historical source in Cusco for the revival of Inti Raymi has been *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (1617) by "El Inca" Garcilaso de la Vega.

Cusqueños viewed Garcilaso de la Vega as a native son, since he was the son of a high ranking Spanish soldier and an Inca Princess. he spent most of his youth in Cusco, where he was educated at a school founded for the *mestizo* sons of the Inca nobility and the Spanish. He moved to Spain in his early twenties and never returned to Cusco. He did not publish until he was in his fifties. Garcilaso de la Vega was well-read on the subjects of history in general, Inca history and the Spanish colonization of the new world. Among the texts he read were: *Apologética Historia Sumaraia* by Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Indian's Translation of the Three Dialogues of Love by Leo the Hebrew*, and *Repúblicas de Indias, idolatrías y gobierno en México y Perú* by Jerónimo Román y Zamora (Brading 1986).

By his own account, Garcilaso de la Vega also drew on the oral histories of the Incas told to him as a child in Cusco by elder relatives of his mother. This additional source of information, along with his own heritage, may have given him a unique perspective. Brading (1986) argued that Garcilaso de la Vega's works should be read as

a rebuttal to other histories that portrayed the Incas as godless tyrants and that cast them as uncivilized savages in order to justify the execution of the Inca rulers and colonization. He did this by asserting that the Incas were monotheists worshiping a sun god. He also portrayed them as civilizers who brought law, politics, infrastructure, and agriculture to other uncivilized people. "In sum, Garcilaso portrayed the Incas as philosopher-kings who, as much as the Greeks before them practiced a natural religion, the truths of which were discovered through the exercise of their reason, which is to say, through the operation of the Divine Light in which human intelligence participated" (Brading 1986:14). Given his status as a native son and his representation of the Incas and their rituals in relation to reason and civilization, it is obvious why *indigenistas* in the 1940s would turn to his history as a primary source for a recreated ritual, performed for cultural identity and tourism, rather than for spiritual efficacy.

Garcilaso de la Vega's identity and ideology served to legitimize the historical accuracy of the information, but also to make up for a lack of details. Garcilaso de la Vega's text did not describe Inti Raymi in the level of detail necessary to write a script and a musical score, but he conveyed the setting and the grandeur of the ritual.[7]

[7] It is important to note that a survey of colonial era documents reveals contradictory information about Inti Raymi, as to its date, significance, and many of performance.

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote only briefly about music in the chapter entitled, "Their knowledge of geometry, geography, arithmetic, and music." He wrote one paragraph about the first three subjects and then three paragraphs on music. He first described both the construction and method of playing panpipes. He noted that they were constructed of reeds of different lengths in groups of four or five. They were played in an interlocking method in which one musician played and then the other answered him with a different pitch "on the fifth or any other interval" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966:125). He also noted they played flutes of four or five stops. He did not mention whether these were played end-blown (as a *quena*) or transverse (as a *pitu*). The flutes were played alone, not in unison ensembles, and neither the flute nor the panpipes were played in harmony.

The Incas also performed songs. Garcilaso de la Vega mentioned that each song had a unique melody, but he did not describe the form of the songs, except that they were in measured verse. He did not specifically mention mode or scales, but did note that singers might accompany themselves on a flute. Therefore it is possible that a song might have had the same mode as the flutes with four or five stops. He described different kinds of performance contexts for the songs: love and courting, war, and

ceremonies. He concluded by mentioning that by the time he left Cusco in 1560, Indian musicians were able to play part-songs on their flutes from written music.

Garcilaso de la Vega described Inti Raymi in the chapters entitled, "The principal feast of the Sun, and how they prepared for it;" "They worshipped the Sun, went to his house, and sacrificed a lamb;" "The auguries of their sacrifices, and the use of fire;" and "How they drank to one another, and in what order." He indicated that the Sun festival in the month of June, called Intip Raimi, was the most important and, consequently, celebrated in Cusco by the Inca Kings and lasted nine days. He wrote:

> The festival as dedicated to the Sun in recognition of their worship of it as the sole, supreme, and universal god, who created and sustained everything in the earth with his light and virtue. Out of regard for the fact that the Sun was the natural father of the first Inca Manco Cápac and of the Coya Mama Ocllo Huaco and of all the kings
> and their children and descendants sent down to earth for the universal benefit of mankind, the feast was a very solemn one. (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966:356)

The king performed the ceremony himself, which was attended by the military, local lords, and religious leaders. Garcilaso de la Vega described in detail the various dress of all those present. He also noted that many women prepared food, including bread made from corn, for the festival. Sheep and lambs were also prepared to be sacrificed.

On the day of the ritual, they gathered in the main plaza at dawn and looked to the east, waiting for the sun to rise. When it rose, they squatted, raised their arms and kissed the air to worship it. After all drank an offering of an unspecified liquid, they went to the Temple of the Sun, Qorikancha. There, offerings of gold, silver and numerous animals were made. Afterwards, they returned to the main plaza to sacrifice some sheep. They then divined omens based on the condition of various internal organs of the sacrificed animals. Then they used light reflected from the sun to start a ceremonial fire. Next, all consumed food and drinks. The drinking involved ritual toasting by the Inca and the others present.

Music and dance are only mentioned at the end of the final chapter. Garcilaso de la Vega noted that after the ritual drinking, and after the food had been consumed, the musicians and dancers entered. The Inca and other esteemed people presumably were the audience. “The dancers and singers of various kinds made their appearance, with the insignia, emblems, masks, and devices of each tribe. And while they sang and danced, they did not cease to drink…” (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966:365). This was the only mention of music during the Inti Raymi festival.

The best contemporary history on the demise of Inti Raymi during the early colonial era is *Inca Bodies and the Bodies of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonia Cuzco,*

Peru (1999) by Carolyn Dean. Dean argued that the Spanish introduced that celebration of Corpus Christi to replace Inca religious observances with Christian ones and at the same time symbolize the triumph of Spain and Christianity over the Incas.

Dean did not give a specific date for the termination of Inti Raymi. Rather she noted that within forty years of the conquest, Corpus Christi was an important celebration in Cusco (Dean 1999:31). Rather than the abrupt prohibition of sun worship, Dean argued that it was a gradual co-optation where Andean people (including musicians and dancers) and symbols, of the sun for example, were included in Corpus Christi because they represented the opposition that Corpus Christi had triumphed over. She wrote:

> An examination of the correlation between Inti Raymi and Corpus Christi suggests that the identification of the former Inka feast in the latter Christina festival was meaningful to the colonialists in part because Corpus Christi, as a triumph, required the presentation of vanquished opposites. The temporal correspondence between Corpus Christi, pan-Andean harvest festivals, and the Inka June Solstice festival known as Inti Raymi provided the Christians with the required symbolic opponent… Thus, while the indigenous dances and regalia that appeared in Cuzco's Corpus Christi were inherently no more "idolatrous' than indigenous presentations in other Christian festivals, there the meaning of these festive practices was magnified. Identifying Inti Raymi—or, for that matter, any Inka celebration—in Corpus Christi constituted a performative metaphor for the triumph of Christianity over native religion, and of Christians over "pagan" Andeans. (Dean 1999:32)

Despite the significance of this performative metaphor, Dean was not able to offer much information about the music in the early colonial period when Corpus Christi triumphed over Inti Raymi. She did note that Indigenous songs and dances were purposefully included by colonial and Church authorities because they constituted difference, but she did not describe the music and dance beyond their significance. However, Baker (2004) was able to use colonial chronicles and painting in Cusco to extrapolate some information about this music. These sources suggest that indigenous musicians performed in ensembles connected to confraternities that were dedicated to various saints. The music was performed by single instrument or mix instrument ensembles. “The fiesta of Corpus Christi might involve hiring drummers, trumpeters, singers, a harpist and shawms”(Baker 2004:35). However, because Baker relied on iconographic evidence, he was not able to produce more detailed descriptions about the music.

If limitations in the historical record make it difficult to conclusively determine how the Inca culture practiced Inti Raymi and the significance they attached to it, there is even more difficulty with fully understanding musical practices in Cusco before the conquest. With no recordings or detailed written descriptions by practitioners, scholars

are left to piece together partial understandings based on colonial era chronicles, paintings and pre-Columbian artifacts such as ceramics and musical instruments.

Musical scholars such as Castro (1938) and the D'Harcourts (1925) focused on Inca music as a past stage of music's development. As *survivances* (survivals) in the title indicates, the D'Harcourts found their information about the music of the Incas from archaeological instruments and from contemporary musical practices, which they assumed preserved pre-Columbian scales and melodies. They incorrectly argued for the dominance of pentatonicism and assumed an unbroken and unchanging line between the Incas and contemporary rural, indigenous music. In the 1938 article "Ensayo sobre la Música Nazca" Sas demonstrated the great variety of scales possibly used by the Nazca by playing and notating the pitches of instruments found in archeological sites, ending the debate on pentatonicism.

Indigenista scholars also used music to imagine the Inca past as the foundation for a contemporary Peruvian nation that contested Lima's Eurocentric models. In 1929 the Cusco composer Leandro Alviña published a paper on Inca music, in which he clearly followed Luis Valcárcel's argument for the special place of Cusco and the value of high Inca culture in contemporary Peru. The article begins with a veritable manifesto of *indigenismo,* in which Cusco was singled out as "the Rome of the Americas" [after

Garcilaso] and the "cradle, commercial center, and reliquary of Inca culture, which is the true patrimony of Peru, and not anything derived from European sources" (Alviña 1929:301).

First appearing in 1968, Robert Stevenson's *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (1976) set the standard for more contemporary studies with its concise analysis based on a deep understanding of the historical record. Archeological instruments and iconographic evidence from ceramic vessels found in Peruvian museums and private collections, as well as literary sources such as dictionaries and chronicles provided most of the data. Stevenson's methodology was primarily descriptive and thus limited to physical characteristics of the instruments, location found, and general historical period and culture.

As Stevenson's work demonstrates, most scholars of pre-Columbian music in Peru focus on the Incas. An exception is the essay by Cesar Bolaños, the Peruvian composer and scholar, wrote for *La Música en el Perú* (1985), which he also edited. The essay "La Musica en el Antiguo Peru" thoughtfully examined chronologically the archeological record for many pre-Inca cultures. Bolaños drew primarily from ancient instrument and iconographic information that he combined with more general archaeological knowledge about each culture's technical abilities and use of different

materials, such as natural cane, ceramics and metals. However, both Bolaños (1985) and Stevenson (1976) wrote historical narratives based on an "objective" description of physical objects. Constructing the past as objective knowledge woven into a narrative fails to theorize how the narratives about past are made in relation to specific epistemes of knowledge and the social relations of power.

Music of El Dorado: The Ethnomusicology of Ancient South American Cultures (2002) by Dale Olsen studied more than Inca music, but unlike Bolaños (1985), failed to distinguish pre-Columbian cultures and instead imagined common musical practices across the entire region and spanning thousands of years. Olsen created a new methodology to move beyond the description of archaeological artifacts by including contemporary ethnographic research as a "check" for new conclusions. However, the method of checking was never rigorously explored and Olsen seemed to select only ethnographic examples that confirmed his imaginative conclusions.

Tomlinson (2007) based his study of music in the Inca empire on a 16th century work by Juan de Betanzos called *Suma y narración de los Yngas* that was discovered in the 1980s, in addition to the usual historic documents. From this he surmised that song functioned not as entertainment, but as a tool for recounting history and, through that, a political instrument. Tomlinson discussed social contexts of song, establishing the

correct names, places, and date of rituals with music from among many differing sources, and the meaning and uses of music in those contexts. He did not attempt to reconstruct the sounds of music from that time in his writing because his historic approach intended to find a middle ground between general descriptions of music making and materialist analyses of surviving instruments. He also noted, "And, of course, the impossibility of performative reconstruction has never stood in the way of ethnographic studies of music in present-day societies related to…the societies I discuss here (Tomlinson 2007:224-5). He continued:

> I have wished to till a fertile middle ground between the most general accounts of music-making in the societies I study and the always frustrated desire to know exactly how the music went. In this middle ground we might nurture textured and unexpectedly specific accounts of the uses to which songs was put, of Expectations for its efficacies, of the sense of world embodied in it. (Tomlinson 2007:225)

Tomlinson's work provided important information about music in Cusco in the time just before and after contact with Europeans. His information was detailed and his analysis of the use of music gave an insightful and reasoned historic perspective. However, in dealing with musical reconstructions Tomlinson made two errors. First, he failed to cite the numerous studies by Peruvian scholars such as Alviña, Castro, and Sas, some of which were influenced by *indigenismo*. Second, while I agree that it is impossible to

reconstruct the sound and performance of Inca music with absolute certainty, that fact should not cause him to ignore important efforts of scholars and artists who made or studied such reconstructions.

Aguirre Cárdenas (1994), de la Cadena (2000), Mendoza (2000; 2006), and Tamayo Herrera (1980) documented the birth of the modern reenactment of Inti Raymi and the social contexts from which it emerged. Those studies differed from this dissertation in that they focused on Inti Raymi as part of the *indigenismo* movement. They, therefore, viewed it in terms of cultural politics and the folklore projects of *indigenistas*, but mentioned the context of tourism in only a limited way.

Inti Raymi's revival in 1944 by Humberto Vidal Unda and *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo* was the culmination of the *indigenista* ideology in Cusco expressed in their artistic performances and modernization projects. *Indigenismo* was a cultural and political movement across Latin America from the late nineteenth to the early to mid-twentieth century. It varied in character according to local cultural and historical legacies. But, in general *indigenismo* included both artistic and political projects that sought to redefine society based on native heritage instead of the Spanish colonial legacy. For example, in Mexico the mural art of Diego Rivera combined a unique modernist style with an appreciation of Mexico's indigenous past and present.

Under the influence of people like Luis Varcárcel and José Uriel García, Cusco developed its own particular version of *indigenismo* that focused on the glories of the Inca past. In the 1920s Varcárcel argued that contemporary native people, the vast majority of whom lived in extreme poverty and supported themselves with subsistence agriculture, could only improve themselves by basing their values, social structure, and economy on the achievements of the Inca civilization, rather than altering themselves radically to fit the values and social structures of Hispanic culture.

Inspired by local indigenous music as well as the Inca theater (Itier 2000), Varcárcel, the composer Roberto Ojeda, along with some musicians and dancers formed an artistic group called *la Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico* in the early 1920s. They performed costumed dances that drew from contemporary indigenous life as well as reconstructed rituals and stories from the Inca past. Like so many "new" folklore and hybrid artistic styles, the repertoire of *la Misión* brought together distinct traditions that coalesced in performance. According to Mendoza, the group was a "confluence of traditions, individuals and styles that came from different sectors of Cusco society at that time" (Mendoza 2006:51). She argued that this new repertoire cannot simply be dismissed as a "stylization and manipulation" of native Andean music, but rather is better understood as "the result of a complex encounter of traditions that, being an

important part of the social and political interaction of different sectors of *Cusqueños*, developed its own logic" (Mendoza 2006:51).

To understand *la Misión*'s music and dance as a new form, distinct from the music of rural Andean communities, a brief outline of native Andean music is required. However, this is not an easy task because in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century the academic study of native Andean music in Peru was very limited. Only a handful of individuals attempted such studies by visiting a few communities and making transcriptions of the music they heard. Among them were composers looking for material that would make them the authentic voice of a nation or historians and folklorists trying to uncover the survivals of pre-Columbian culture (Béhague 1979). These were not ethnographic studies that attempted to understand and document rural, native Andean culture on its own terms. For example, Daniel Alomía Robles from Huánuco, Peru, influenced music in Peru through both his compositions and work as a folklorist, collecting over 600 melodies (Pinilla 1985:138-9). For a brief time, 1916-1918, he lived and worked in Cusco city (Ojeda 1987:24). However his limited stay does not reflect the extent of his influence on music in Cusco. His work provided a model for urban intellectuals, musicians, and composers who were developing their own interests in rediscovering, and by some accounts reinventing, Inca and folk music.

Cusco also had many local composers striving to be the authentic voice of national Peruvian music. Leandro Alviña Miranda (1878-1919) like Alomía Robles combined his collection of indigenous melodies with research and composition. Influenced by the *indigenismo* championed by Luis Valcárcel, Alviña Miranda wrote his 1908 thesis "La Música Incaica" to connect Inca music to survivals in local indigenous culture. That same year he composed "Canto de las ñustas" (Song of the Inca princesses), his most famous piece, based on melodies that he had collected locally (Ojeda 1987:25, 32). Today, the music school in Cusco is named for Leandro Alviña.

To offer a comparison, one of the best ethnomusicological studies of contemporary Andean music in rural communities was *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (1993) by Thomas Turino. I do not assert that music in rural communities near Cusco in the early twentieth century was exactly like the music in Conima, Puno, in the 1980s, but rather that Turino's work serves as a well described model for what music near Cusco might have been like on a general level. Turino described music ensembles as consisting of one type of wind instrument, such as all *pitus* or all *sikus* accompanied by a *bombo*. The music was often composed communally and performed at special festivals, such as the feast of the Virgin of Candelaria. The performers were all male community members

and non-specialists. Turino also worked extensively in the Cusco area in the 1980s, studying *charango* repertoire and performance practices (Turino 1983). He reported that the *charango* was played by non-specialist men as part of courting. In the early stages of courting they played solo, strumming a repeated pattern. Later in the year at a public dance, the men all played *charangos* in unison, with the melody sung by the women in unison or as a call and response with the men.[8]

In contrast, *la Misión*'s members were mainly professional and semi-professional musicians, dancers, actors, and composers.[9] They performed in urban theatres and conducted a successful tour of South America. The musical ensemble consisted of mixed instrumentation that included a small harp, *quenas*, *pinkuillus*, and various percussion instruments (Mendoza 2006:47).

[8] The work of Bigenho (2002) also described rural musical repertoire and practices in rural Bolivia as distinct from new urban folk music. However, Romero (2001a) demonstrated that in the Mantaro valley in Peru, even very traditional ritual music, such as *herranza* (animal fertility) used mixed ensembles that include horn trumpets, violins, a singer, and a *tinya* (small drum), while *orquestas típicas* (traditional orchestras) were large, semi-professional ensembles of mixed instruments (charango, violin, harp) that incorporated the clarinet as early as the 1910s and the saxophone by the 1940s (Romero 2001a:69, 71). Romero convincingly argued that these ensembles were seen as traditionally and authentically part of the rural Andean musical life in the Mantaro valley.

[9] I use the term semi-professional and professional since tickets were sold and given the people known to have participated, though Mendoza (2006) suggested that some of the unnamed musicians might have been indigenous people (47).

Antologia de la Musica Cusqueña: Siglos XIX-XX (Rozas Aragón 1985)[10] represents a survey of repertoire very similar to *La Misión*'s. This anthology demonstrates that the repertoire possessed the following musical traits: standard tuning to A at 440 mHz, major and minor modes, predominant pentatonicism, regular and symmetric phrases and sections, and a repetitive accompaniment that outlines western functional harmony.[11]

La Misión's performances and musical style became the blueprint for subsequent cultural groups, including the group *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo*, who

[10] Since this is also the source for much of the music in contemporary performances of Inti Raymi, a summary of the repertoire's core aesthetics and analysis of specific pieces are included later in the chapter.

[11] Describing these general differences is not meant to convey the idea that any musical repertoire is "pure" or that indigenous music exists when there is a total absence of anything perceived to be Western. This standard of "purity" depends on essentialized social or cultural categories; these standards did not develop not based on actual conditions, but in discourse that romanticized the past to question conditions of modernization. Rowe and Schelling noted that in Latin America today there is no clear division between Indian and mestizo music and "the search for purely Indian expression is romantic and anti-historical, and actually leaves the Indian deprived not only of those dimensions of their culture which the Conquest destroyed but also of the European materials and technologies which they appropriated for their own use" (Rowe and Schelling 1991:57). For example, Romero (2001a) examined one kind of traditional regional Andean music that incorporates clarinets and saxophones. Though these instruments are not pre-colonial, Romero does not use Hobsbawm's concept of "invented traditions" to describe the social process in the creation of this musical practice. Musical practices are better understood as:

> Reelaborations of previously invented and reinvented cultural practices that go back as far as the pre-Inca colonial and republican periods and extend into contemporary times…I prefer to avoid whenever possible the notion of the invented, in favor of other terms like *construction* and *building* of traditions. These concepts better express the various and simultaneous processes that go into the making of complex and multilayered cultural practices of people who manipulate and claim different conceptions of their own past… (Romero 2001a: 22).

would create and perform the music and dance of Inti Raymi in its first decades. Founded in 1924, *Centro Qosqo* united prominent Cusqueños, including the archaeologist Luis Pardo Durant, composers Roberto Ojeda, Baltaza Zeguerra, and Juan de Dios Aguirre, as well as the photographer Martín Chambi and *charango* enthusiast Humberto Vidal Unda. Though their stated aim was to rescue indigenous music from encroaching national and international popular music, these artists, musicians, dancers, intellectuals, and civic leaders did not merely copy contemporary rural music; they added to the new style, repertoire and performance context. Rather than faithful scribes, they saw themselves as experts capable of elevating rural, indigenous music and extracting from it the survivals of Inca music. Mendoza wrote that they felt entitled to:

> select elements to recreate cusqueño regional identity; they modeled this cusqueño identity on their own urban views and aesthetics. The combination of European musical instruments with those associated with the Andean peasantry, the creation of stylized choreographies performed by urban mestizos in staged contexts, and the use of Inca imagery all resulted in new, unique forms that would subsequently influence the production of music and dance in the whole region. (Mendoza 2000:57)

These actions should be viewed as part of the practices of folklore discussed in chapter one, particularly in terms of the transformation of rural, indigenous or peasant culture into new forms of cultural expressions and performance contexts. They were attempts to

aestheticize the representations of and cultural expressions extracted from impoverished rural, indigenous communities. This transformation of culture, the desires of folklorists and artists to distinguish themselves from rural, indigenous people, while at the same time drawing indigenous people and culture into modernity (discussed below), can be understood as part of *picturesque filth*.

The *indigenista* movement in Cusco strove not just for a new identity through the refashioning of history and cultural expressions, but also for what they defined a social and economic modernization. Historian Thomas Krüggeler described what constituted modernization in Cusco in the early twentieth century as "such developments as the arrival of the railroad, moderate urban industrialization projects, or changing consumption patterns of more affluent sectors of regional society" (Krüggeler 1999:165-6). These reforms would come through both new economic opportunities and social criticism and reform.

Many of Cusco's *indigenistas* promoted tourism as a means of economic and social modernization. In the 1920s local government officials opened a branch of the National Tourism Corporation in Cusco, which was replaced in the 1940s by the Touring Automóvil Club del Perú (de la Cadena 2000: 139). They also wrote numerous travel guides, for example Cosio (1924), Uriel García (1926), Valcárcel (1938), and

Vidal (1968). These represent specific examples on the local level that relate to chapter one's discussion of the relationship between cultural and economic development since the 1950s. In Latin America, development agencies and international institutions, such as the World Bank and the United Nations, promoted tourism as a quick and easy way for the "third world" to participate in modernization and capitalism, even if they lacked infrastructure and industrialization.

Indigenistas in Cusco did not only admiringly perform local culture and history. They were also intense critics of contemporary conditions in urban Cusco that were in conflict with their goals of modernization. For example, De la Cadena discussed efforts in the 1910s-20s to clean up the city, during which a new marketplace, slaughterhouse, and sewer system were built (De la Cadena 2000:68). She also noted an extensive public campaign to educate those deemed ignorant of hygiene. She quoted Albert Giesecke (a leading reformer of the university) as singling out "servants and cooks" (De la Cadena 2000:68).

Some *indigenistas* also criticized the poor in racial term, at times singling out *mestizos*. De la Cadena quoted Luis Varcárcel as writing the following in his 1925 book *De la vida Inkaika.* She cited his assessment of contemporary problems in Cusco in relation to the degradation of *mestizos*, "'Rickety, with turpid, sluggish, and reddened

eyes, they look at city things with stupid expression. They spend every cent that results from their cattle or harvest sales. To them, decency means the prodigal consumption of beer and liquor' (1925:40)" (De la Cadena 2000:65).

"Indians" were also blamed by *indigenistas* for Peru's social and economic stagnation. Since the nineteenth century, with the collapse of the *guano* (bird droppings) market, the disastrous War of the Pacific (1879-1884), and subsequent economic decline, Peru's indigenous population was targeted by leaders as an obstacle to progress. They defined Peru's "Indian problem" as the large, uneducated, rural indigenous population who had no stake in building a capitalist market economy or a liberal nation-state.

In 1940 Vidal Unda (the future champion of the Inti Raymi revival) celebrated June 24th with a lecture on the "Indian problem." His words demonstrated some *indigenistas* blamed Peru's lack of modernization and economic success on its "Indian problem," embodied by the large rural indigenous population who were not integrated into the national culture or capitalist economy. He wrote:

> The Indian…is not a factor in progress; on the contrary—
> and why not say so—he constitutes a real hurdle for our material
> and spiritual growth in the current conditions in which he is
> found. In the economic production in which he participates,
> he does so in an eternally primitive manner and with no technical
> orientation and his results are extremely low. His contribution in

> taxes is minimal, because the Indian, who produces hardly enough for the satisfaction of his own needs, does not consume articles attached to the indirect tax that is one of the best lines of income to the national fund. (Vidal Unda 1940:84)

It was, therefore, no accident that Varcácel, folklorist and critic of the *mestizo*, was one of the founders of *La Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico,* nor that Vidal Unda critic of the "Indian problem," would in a few years revive Inti Raymi. In sum, the collection of folklore, its transformation into new cultural expressions, and the *indigenista* social critique and agenda of social and economic modernization were all part of the same project: bringing indigenous Andean people and culture into the *indigenistas'* vision of a modern nation-state that would be accomplished through the aestheticization of poverty, picturesque filth. The *indigenistas* dreamt of socio-economic development by using tourism as a quick means to achieve modernization and capitalist economic opportunities. The new folklore performances and the archaeological remains of the Inca civilizations were the intended tourist attractions. And since indigenous and rural people and culture were positioned by *indigenistas* as the antithesis of modernity, prestige, and economic opportunity, they and their culture needed to be "cleaned up."

For all their admiration of Andean music, there was a deep fissure between urban composers, folklorists, and musicians, and the rural musicians and dancers who

inspired them. They identified themselves with what they valued from indigenous and Inca culture, but not *as* indigenous peasants. Mendoza described this contradiction as, "the ambivalence of trying to define a national particularity (regional in the case of Cusco) based on 'authentic racial' heritage, while also trying to distance such nationalism (or regionalism) from that heritage, which is too easily seen as backward and inferior in terms of global modernity" (Mendoza 2000:49). De la Cadena went further in her criticism, drawing on Herzfeld's theory of "cultural intimacy." She called it a "Janus-faced cultural policy. One side proudly displayed local folklore; the other strove to hide or soothe the social flaws that they had identified in the regional culture. Hiding or soothing such 'cultural intimacies,' the new intellectual elites implemented a hierarchical representation of regional identity..." (De la Cadena 2000:150).

I do not think that it is possible to overstate the importance of this critical perspective in understanding the social, intellectual, and musical conditions that culminated with the revival of Inti Raymi in 1944. They are the keys to understanding both the value system for cultural practices in Cusco and power dynamics demonstrated in the social relationships that joined new cultural expressions to social and economic development. As Mendoza noted, the salient factor in the development of this music and dance repertoire was not a question of musical style, but the social relationships that

it made possible. In this case it allowed a relatively small group of musicians, artists, intellectuals, and civic leaders to form cultural institutions and large scale public festivals that, in practice, permitted them to create a music and dance repertoire (including its aesthetics) for the purposes of defining local identity and influencing social and economic development. That, indeed, represented a huge amount of power. It was the power to create a whole new cultural expression, its values, its historical connections, the contexts for its performance, and how it might be profited from.

Inti Raymi Festival Begins

> Today was Inti Raymi, the Inca Sun Festival, here in Cusco. I don't exactly know how to describe Inti Raymi except that there were a lot of people dressed in colorful Incan costumes dancing around all day long up a hill then back down. Everyone (locals, Gringos, Peruvians) followed the procession up to the sacred mountain of Sasaqwaman and watched the ceremonious simulated sacrifice of a llama. We all (thousands of us) sat on the hills and stone Inca ruins of Sasaqwaman for a few hours. There were picnics, ice cream venders, and a break in the barrier which resulted in hundreds of people storming a prohibited area. It was good times and I'm glad I had my timing just right for the festival.
>
> From “Inti Raymi” TravelBlog.org by Kim June 24, 2008

Within the context of *indigenismo*, the power of cultural institutions, and a strong social critique that strove to make the case for socio-economic modernization, Humberto Vidal Unda proposed making June 24th, which was already the national holiday *El Día del Indio* (the Day of the Indian) and the Catholic feast day for San Juan, a showcase for local history that would attract international attention and tourists. The Inca festival of the sun, Inti Raymi, filled the need for a festival that could be imagined on a grand scale. Drawing on the repertoire and experience of *Centro Qosqo*, a multi-day festival was put together in a few months. Peruvian President Pardo attended the celebrations, which included the performance of the new Inti Raymi at the archaeological site of Sacsayhuaman followed by an open-air lunch.

Figure 1. Inti Raymi, June 24, 2006, Cusco, Peru. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

To give a brief synopsis, the performance reenacts a ritual offering to the sun god Inti. In contemporary performances, the reenactment takes 6-7 hours, beginning at Qoricancha (the archaeological site of the main religious building in Incan Cusco), then moving on to the *plaza de armas*, and ending at Sacsayhuaman. In the opening scene, the Inca and his court lead groups that represent the military and the four regions of the Inca civilization in a song honoring the sun. In the plaza the Inca traditionally addresses the current president of Peru, asking the president to take care of "his" people. Next, the

Inca and his *coya* (queen) are carried on litters up to Sacsayhuaman. There the Inca and his main priest make an offering of *chicha* (corn beer) and simulate the sacrifice of a llama to honor the sun god Inti.

Figure 2. Inti Raymi, June 24, 2006, Cusco, Peru. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

Immediately after the performance there is a folk dance contest that lasts several hours. Groups from all over the region travel to Cusco to compete each year.

Within a few years of the 1944 revival, the festivities expanded around Inti Raymi to become *la semana del Cusco* (Cusco week). Activities included a contest to write an anthem for the city, folk dance contests and parades, public discussions and

conferences on topics of history, culture, and the arts. Now, the festivities take place throughout the month of June.

Over more than sixty years of performance, the cultural institutions responsible for the performance of Inti Raymi evolved numerous times. In the early performances of Inti Raymi in the 1940s, *Centro Qosqo* developed the scripts, costumes, dances, staging, and music, while the rest of the festivities, contests, and events around the performance of Inti Raymi were organized by *ad hoc* groups of civic leaders. Later, Vidal Unda organized the *Comisión Municipal de la Semana del Cusco* to run Inti Raymi (Mendoza 2000:69). The *Comisión Organizadora de los Festejos del Cusco* replaced it, and then in 1987, after many commissions and committees, the municipal government of the city of Cusco formed *Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco* (EMUFEC) to supervise the organization of Inti Raymi.

Today, EMUFEC controls the planning of Inti Raymi and the month long celebration of Cusco in June. Their duties for the festival include selling tickets to tour agencies, promotion, printing programs and selling advertising in the program, fund raising, selecting and organizing proposals from groups who wish to exhibit during the weeks, organizing security, and, most importantly, selecting the Inca and cultural group to stage Inti Raymi. Interested artistic groups must submit a proposal early in the year

describing their vision and expertise for executing the performances, as well as a budget proposal.

Finally, two other institutions play roles in the organization of Inti Raymi. The *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* (INC), founded during the Velasco regime in the 1970s, is the national government ministry whose mission is to preserve, study, and administer archaeological sites. The Cusco regional branch of the INC is responsible for granting permission to perform at Qorikancha and Sacsayhuaman and supervising responsible practices to minimize the impact on these areas. *La Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo* (PROM PERÚ) is part of the Ministry of Tourism and is responsible for promoting Inti Raymi and all the June celebrations in Cusco to national and international audiences.

The Performers

Performing Inti Raymi is no easy task. It involves the coordination of hundreds of people who must learn the staging, music, dance, and script with less than two months of practice. Every year EMUFEC solicits proposals from different cultural groups. In theory this is open to any group. However, in reality the logistics and short time frame of the performance mean that only a handful of groups are capable of pulling off the level of performance required; currently among those are *Filigranas*

Peruanas, Riqch'ariy Wayna, and *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo*. This means, as rich as Cusco is in musicians, dancers, and actors who are Quechua speakers, the quality and continuation of the performance rests with a few groups.

In the 1950s the performances were dominated by *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo.* Since the 1990s the performances have been in the control of Wilbert Apaza Paredes and his group *Riqch'ariy Wayna*, with a few exceptions. As part of my research, I did not try uncover the internal politics of selection and artists' reaction to this situation because it seems disingenuous to ask groups to publicly air complaints, when they would be submitting proposals for consideration in that same process in future years. In previous years the newspapers published results of the process, indicating that the winning proposal was the one with the lowest bid.[12]

Who joins these groups and what motivates them to apply to perform Inti Raymi each year? This section is based on my fieldwork with *Filigranas Peruanas* and Mendoza's (2000) work with *Centro Qosqo. Centro Qosqo* has not led the performance of Inti Raymi for many years. Today, they concentrate their efforts on supporting their theater venture on Avedina del Sol, with daily performances for audiences made up

[12] In 1999 and 2000 published reports on the selection process included the total cost estimates of each group. In 1999: *Riqch'ariy Wayna* ($5000), *Filigranas Peruanas* ($9500), *Centro Qosqo* ($21,050), and *Danzas del Twantinsuyu* ($21,830) ("Riqch'ariy Wayna escenificará…" 1999:2). In 2000: *Riqch'ariy*

almost entirely of tourists. Their performances have a more regular source of income since they joined the city tourist ticket. Tourists purchase one ticket for entrance into archaeological sites, such as Sacsayhuaman, Puca Pucara, Tambomachay, and Q'enko. Which sites are included vary year to year as organizations negotiate with local officials. For example, sites belonging to the Catholic church, such as the cathedral and the church of San Blas, recently opted out of the ticket and now charge a separate entrance fee. With a focus on a daily show in its theater, *Centro Qosqo* is staffed mainly by professionals who work a regular gig. *Centro Qosqo* still participates in a few public festivals, such as *Cruz Velecuy*, a night when *Cusqueños* light candles and conduct a night-long vigil in front of the numerous crosses throughout the city.

In contrast, *Filigranas Peruanas* is seen by its director, Leonardo Arana Yampe as an amateur group whose mission is to educate the city's young people in music and dance, which he said distinguished it from other professional groups such as *Centro Qosqo* who now mainly perform for audiences of paying tourists (Personal interview July 3, 2006). Interestingly, Director Arana Yampe and the musical director Esteban Ttupa Llavilla learned this repertoire by performing as members of *Centro Qosqo* during the 1970s. *Filigranas Peruanas* was founded in 1980 by Arana Yampe and Sra.

Wayna ($5300), *Filigranas Peruanas* ($6400), and *Centro Qosqo* ($10,000) (“Riqch’ariy Wayna

Ana Ojeda Viscara (daughter of the composer Roberto Ojeda). The first performance was with 24 young people on February 10, 1981, in the university San Antonio Abad. They presented a series of dances representing the three regions of the country: coast, mountains, and jungle; north, central, and south. Arana Yampe said that he traveled himself to different regions of Peru to learn the music, choreography, and costumes to develop the group's repertoire (Personal interview July 3, 2006). In the 1980s the group also performed a live show at a tourist restaurant called *El Fogón de las Mestizas*. (The name comes from the word for the traditional wood-burning adobe stove that is used in the region.)

Like many other cultural groups, the dancers form the core membership, while different musicians may be hired depending on the performance. During the six performances that I observed in 2006, three small-scale performances used prerecorded music. Two performances, discussed below, that were contracted for tour group used hired professional groups of different instrumentation: a brass band, a group of *quenas* with percussion, and a mixed group of two guitars, accordion (played by Ttupa Llavilla), and *quena*. Only the Inti Raymi performance mixed professional musicians and singers with young amateur musicians who were students at the city's music school,

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escenificará…" 2000:2).

Instituto Superior de Música Leandro Alviña Miranda. The music of Inti Raymi is discussed below.

Struggles for Control and Relevance

The content performed at Inti Raymi has been overseen by local cultural institutions and experts on culture and history, with only a few internal discussions, the spaces in which Inti Raymi is performed, perhaps even the opportunity to perhaps perform at all, have been the sites of ongoing struggles for control among numerous groups, local and national. Beyond the power to control locations and behaviors lies that struggle to maintain relevance to its own people.

I first became interested in Inti Raymi in 2002 because that year there was a real possibility that the performance might be canceled. Inti Raymi had been canceled only twice in the past: in 1950 and 1970 because of earthquakes (Rozas Aragón 1994:93). May and June 2002 saw escalating protests across Peru because of an unpopular plan by the Toledo government to privatize electrical services. In mid-June, less than two weeks before the performance on the 24th, a student was accidently killed during protests in Arequipa, causing President Toledo to declare a state of emergency, which put the 2002 performance of Inti Raymi in jeopardy ("Decretan estado de emergencia…" 2002:2).

Part of what fascinated me about the situation was a kind of ambivalence among Cusqueños with whom that I spoke. Everyone commented that it was really terrible that Inti Raymi might be canceled. However, when I asked if they had planned to attend the performance, they dismissed the notion; they had no plans to attend because it was always the same and they had seen it as a child. In the end Inti Raymi was performed as usual with normal attendance. However, this ambivalence brings into question Inti Raymi's ability to be more than just an economic opportunity to local people by remaining culturally relevant to them.

One way that Cusqueños have attempted to keep Inti Raymi culturally relevant to themselves is through expert revisions to the content. The first revision occurred in 1952. After eight successful years, a national-level panel of academic experts in history, folklore, anthropology, and music convened to make Inti Raymi as historically accurate as possible to ensure its legitimacy as a symbol of authentic culture. The writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas chaired the committee that also included archaeologists Manuel Chávez Ballón and Luis A. Pardo, anthropologist Oscar Núñez del Prado and ethnomusicologist Josafat Roel Pineda (de la Cadena 2000:167,351). Mendoza (2000) reported that she served on the Inti Raymi committee in 1990 when again the goal of local experts was to make the performance both historically accurate

and meaningful to local people. She wrote, “The organizers were worried about the widespread comments that this ritual had become mostly a tourist show and had lost meaning for local people” (Mendoza 2000:64). There have been approximately nine versions of the script with the most significant revisions in 1952, 1984, and 1994 (Rozas Aragón 1994:94). The 1994 script was copyrighted so that any other community or group would have to pay a royalty to the city of Cusco in order to perform it. One of the most recent revisions came in 1998.

Because the script is copyrighted and cultural groups must follow it for performances, the music, choreography, and costumes represent other areas in which cultural groups can modify the performance to make it more culturally relevant and enjoyable. In 2006 the cultural group *Filigranas Peruanas* performed Inti Raymi for the first time in eight years. Its artistic director Leonardo Arana Yampe and musical director Ttupa Llavilla took the opportunity to introduce new choreography, costumes, and music. While the police recruits who represent the military of the four regions of the empire still wore the same old costumes owned by EMUFEC, the members of *Filigranas Peruanas* used new costumes that tried to evoke a more realistic appearance and included many hand made parts. In a personal interview, Arana Yampe explained his reasoning: Inti Raymi was a real ritual event in the past. Real people do not all wear

the same clothing and, because of the importance of the ritual, people likely made new clothing just for the event (Personal interview October 21, 2006). This reflects the directors thinking around music and choreography as well. Real people performed at the ritual, probably in the manner of their region and likely performed new and special choreography and music because of the importance of the occasion.

Finally, the ability for average Cusqueños to perform in Inti Raymi keeps it relevant in their lives. Every year for the past seven decades, Inti Raymi has included hundreds of actors, dancers, and musicians, not to mention behind-the scenes people who coordinate set-up of the performances. Some roles are traditionally filled by certain segments of society. As mentioned above, police recruits portray the military. Students from the music school, Instituto Superior de Música Leandro Alviña Miranda, form the bulk of the musicians. While *Filigranas Peruanas* opens participation in Inti Raymi to any young person who commits to the rigorous rehearsal schedule (Personal Interview Arana Yampe July 3, 2006) the predominance of students from the music schools is likely because musical directors for Inti Raymi, such as Rozas Aragón and Ttupa Llavilla, have also been directors of the school of music. It is natural then, that students learn this repertoire at the school and are recruited to perform for Inti Raymi.

The dancers come from the cultural group chosen that year to stage Inti Raymi. In the case of *Filigranas Peruanas* in 2006, most of the dancers were in their twenties and danced as a hobby, rather than professionally.[13] In speaking with Director Arana Yampe, he said that his intension for the group was to make it mainly an educational group for young people to stay involved with their culture. Membership was open to anyone who had the time and the discipline to commit to the group's practice and performance commitments, which at times was significant, particularly Inti Raymi, which involved almost daily rehearsals in the two weeks before the performance.

Participation is a sensitive subject in Cusco. In 2001, Director Wilbert Apaza was accused of "discriminating" against young people in Cusco who wanted to participate because he chose instead to include some young people from Lima and a few foreigners ("Discrimina a jóvenes…" 2001:2). It is unlikely that these "outsiders" constituted more than a token presence among the hundreds of performers, but this public outcry of "discrimination" highlights the importance of participation in Inti Raymi for Cusqueños.

[13] One of the dancers, Eveyln Aguirre was my husband's cousins. This was unknown to either my husband or myself before 2006. At a public rehearsal my husband recognized Evelyn as one of the dancers. She performed often and was a very helpful in keeping me aware of Filigranas Peruanas' various performances and in making me feel welcomed.

The selection of the actor portraying the Inca always draws the most interest and debate. The longest reigning and best known actor was Faustino Espinoza Navarro. According to De la Cadena, he was chosen for his ability to speak a more formal version of Quechua called Capac Simi (De la Cadena 2000:163). Espinoza Navarro served on Inti Raymi performance committees in the 1990s and even produced his own version of the script. Another actor, Alfredo Inka Roca, who is also an engineer, portrayed the Inca three times beginning in the 1990s. In 2006 he made an unsuccessful bid to become the mayor of San Sebastian, a community between the city of Cusco and San Jermonimo.

In 1998, a year in which a committee of experts attempted to make changes to the costumes and script, a new official script was created and copyrighted by the city of Cusco to ensure their control over the material. The general director of Inti Raymi that year was Luis Castro García and Drs.Víctor Angel Vargas and Jorge Flores Ochoa helped with the research. They were given a budget of $30,000 for the new costumes, and the investment of 180,000 soles was an increase of 18% compared to last year's funding ("30 mil dolares..." and "El Inti Raymi sufrira otras modificaciones..." 1998:2). The Inca was played by a young teacher named Nivardo Carillo Gutierres in his first performance in the role. Overall reactions were mixed. Some questioned the cost of the

costume and the claim that previous ones were inauthentic. Others criticized Carillo's presence as lacking ("No impone presencia ni autoridad" 1998:3).

In addition to the 2002 protests over privatization of electrical services, there have been other examples where Cusqueños have struggled to control aspects of Inti Raymi. Again, in 2003 a state of emergency threatened to close the festivities in Cusco. EMUFEC reported that sales of the tourist tickets were down 20% compared to the previous year ("Afluencia turística cayó…" 2003:3). In 2004 ambulant vendors threatened to occupy the main plaza on June 23rd to protest their expulsion from the area around the San Pedro market after its "clean up" (El Diario del Cusco June 1, 2004:2). In 2006, ambulant vendors were affected again by a ban on selling and preparing food[14] in an effort to protect Sacsayhuaman, as an archeological site from garbage and burning wood.[15] Finally, in 2007, spectators at Sacsayhuaman broke en masse through barricades in a restricted area in order to gain more seating.

The examples cited above demonstrate that the physical locations of Inti Raymi are controlled by local and national authorities through the INC and the police, but they

[14] Traditionally, Cusqueños like to have a picnic lunch at Sacsayhuaman after Inti Raymi by making hoagies, earthen ovens made from clods of dry earth, in which they bake potatoes.

[15] *Peruvian Street Lives: Culture, Power and Economy among Market Women of Cuzco* (2004) by Linda Seligmann gives additional information about efforts to "clean up" the area around the San Pedro market by limiting access to ambulant vendors.

are also the sites where Cusqueños sometimes, literally, push back against that power. They have taken action when they perceive that government officials unfairly sell out their interests or public resources to private companies, or when their ability to gain economic opportunities through informal labor is restricted. However, they have yet to take action over the power to interpret and perform history and culture.

The Music of Inti Raymi

As noted above, even within the limits of the official, copyrighted script there are artistic areas in which cultural groups can strive for originality and relevance. Unlike the script there is no official score for Inti Raymi. In practice, however, musical directors operate within other limits: the style and aesthetics of *música cusqueña*, which dictates instrumentation, musical form and style, and repertoire (see Appendix A for a list of music performed in 2006). The music performed at Inti Raymi has always drawn on the repertoire of *música cusqueña* that was created by groups such as *La Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico* and *Centro Qosqo* in the first half of the 20th century. This music was consolidated in *Antología de la Música Cusqueña* (Rozas Aragón 1985) on which Ttupa Llavilla worked as an editor.

In my Master's thesis (LaBate 2004) I used the term *música cusqueña* to identify this repertoire. Emerging out of *indigenismo* in Cusco, it is a hybrid genre that combines

aspects of both Western art music (known as *música culta* or cultivated music) with the instruments, melodies and rhythms of regional folk music. I consider *música cusqueña* to include the composed concert and salon pieces by Cusco composers based on local indigenous music. *Música cusqueña* also includes the arrangements and compositions these composers contributed to the regional folk dances that are performed publicly by cultural institutions and touring folkloric troupes. Generally, *música cusqueña* differs from other Andean music in Peru through its regular and symmetric phrases and sections. It also has a repetitive accompaniment that outlines western functional harmony, which is not typical in traditional Andean music.

While dismissed by some critics as mere copies of indigenous Andean music, the enduring strength of this repertoire and performance style has been: first, its ability to combine and recombine imagined traditions with some of the formal, harmonic, and aesthetic qualities with Western art music with different local urban are rural music practices to bring together distinct parts of Cusco's society for nearly ninety year; second, despite its utilization in numerous contexts from historical reenactments to popular parades to dinner shows for tourists, it has somehow managed to retain the aura of a unique and genuine local cultural identity in local, national, and international performance contexts.

Within *música cusqueña* there is a sub-repertoire of "historical" pieces. Since the Incas left no written transcriptions of music, these pieces are recreations based on: 1) instruments found in archaeological excavations; 2) colonial era chronicles and visual records (drawings and paintings); and 3) music collected by folklorists from rural communities in the late 19th-early 20th centuries (see chapter one). In an effort to be as historically accurate as possible, music in this sub-repertoire must be played on Andean wind instruments (*quenas, zampoñas, pututus, pitos*) and percussion instruments (*bombos*), or sung. While Sas (1938) clearly demonstrated that the pre-Columbian music in the Andes region used more than just the pentatonic scale, the historical pieces in *música cusqueña* are predominantly pentatonic because composers Castro (1938) and researchers D'Harcourt (1925) championed that theory as the repertoire was created. Therefore, historical pieces use limited instrumentation and modal material.

The music arranged and performed for Inti Raymi in 2006 fell easily within the aesthetic boundaries of *música cusqueña.* Appendix A lists the pieces and composers selected for performance in Inti Raymi 2006, along with a brief analysis of the music and its role in the dramatic action. The music serves three dramatic functions in the performance. First, *pututus* (conch trumpets) signal the arrival of the performers. This instrument is used because it is believed that such instruments were used to announce

the Inca and other important people in pre-Columbian times. Next, music accompanies the movements of the groups as they enter and exit each location. There are hundreds of performers, and music filled up the time required for groups to enter and exit three locations. Finally, music is the dramatic action in two instances. At the opening location, the military and dancers representing the four regions sing "Qosqo Napaykuykin" by Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra while they await the arrival of the Inca. When the Inca appears on the wall of Qoricancha, all performers sing "Inti Taki" by Gonzáles Gamarra. At the next location, Plaza de Armas, all sing "Inti Raymi" by Roberto Ojeda. In addition to the singing, there are four dance performances near the end of the ritual by groups representing the four regions of the Inca civilization, *Tiwantansuyu*.

In summarizing the music chosen for Inti Raymi 2006, there is a remarkable consistency that places it well within the accepted "historical" and aesthetic expectations for both the performance of reenacted Inca history and for *música cusqueña.* The following instrumentation was used: *quenas, zampoñas, pututus, bombos, tinyas,* and rainsticks. A small chorus of mainly female and male voices was also included. With the exception of the rainstick, all instruments conform to historical expectations. It is not that people in Cusco cannot and do not play the same repertoire

on other instruments. Violin, harp, guitar, piano and other "occidental" instruments are used in other contexts. Musical director Ttupa Llavilla frequently used his accordion at Inti Raymi rehearsals. However, these instruments are never used for the performance of Inti Raymi.

The music itself is all taken from the repertoire of *música cusqueña,* found in *Antologia de la Musica Cusqueña: Siglos XIX-XX* (1985), with the exception of the four regional folk dances, the short melodies written by Ttupa Llavilla and "Himno al Sol" by Daniel Alomía Robles, who was from another department, though he visited Cusco. Remarkable similarities in the musical pieces gave the performance a certain musical cohesion, as well as representing the strict aesthetics of *música cusqueña.* Metrically, all but "Qosqo Llaqta" by Juan de Dios Aguirre are in duple meter; the vast majority of those in 2/4 time. All pieces are in A, C, or E minor, though a few pieces had major sounding sections or were a bit ambiguous. All pieces were pentatonic, formed by avoiding the 2^{nd} note of the scale and most often the 6^{th} note, though a few times the 7^{th} note was eliminated. The pieces had rather short melodic phrases, symmetrical in length, which were repeated in AABB patterns.

The addition of regional folk dances was an interesting innovation in the 2006 performance and deserves some attention. As noted above, the directors of *Filigranas*

Peruanas approached Inti Raymi in 2006 with the idea that they should not simply repeat the performances of the previous years. They were performing something that had been a real ritual that had meaning in the lives of real people who lived in Cusco in the past; therefore, they wanted to bring life to the performance by imagining what real people did for the ritual (Personal interview, October 21, 2006). The representatives from the four regions became their focus for this perspective. They reasoned that if people traveled to perform in the ritual, their style of dress, dance and music likely reflected their region. Therefore, the directors of *Filigranas Peruanas* included new costumes and folk dances, rather than the "historic" music in the finale of Inti Raymi. The dances "Saqsa," "Q'ara Chunchu," "Waylars Antiguo," and "Chaqoy" were performed after the llama sacrifice. Interestingly the music to the folk dance "Tupay" was performed during the llama sacrifice, but not the choreography. The choreography and dances for this music is very recognizable to Cusqueños because they are performed every year during the June festivals of Cusco as part of the many folk dance parades and competitions.

The Incas called their civilization *Tiwantinsuyu* and believed that Cusco was the center of the world. From Cusco four regions spread out: *Chinchay suyu* to the northwest; *Anti suyu* included the rainforest regions to the northeast; *Kunti suyu* was the

smallest to the southwest; and *Qulla suyu* to the southeast included the *altiplano*. "Waylars Antiguo" is from the Junin department to the north of Cusco and represents *Chinchay suyu.* The remaining folk dances all come from the department of Cusco. "Q'ara Chunchu" represents the *Anti suyu* rainforest region. "Saqsa" is often associated with the Paruro province to the southwest of Cusco and therefore represents the *Kunti suyu*. While not associated with the altiplano, that leaves "Chaqoy" to represent the region to the southeast, *Qulla suyu.*

Besides being utterly familiar to Cusqueños (having seen the dances perhaps several times each year during the month of June at folk dance presentations and competitions at local primary and secondary schools), the inclusion of the folk dances brought some musical variation to the 2006 Inti Raymi performance. While transposed to A, C, and E minor to fit within the overall modal framework of the performance, the folk dances differed from the other pieces in two ways. First, they have three distinct musical phrases, while the others are limited to one or two. Second, these dances have varied rhythmic patterns, particularly syncopation and triplets opening the measure, though these, too, are transcribed in duple meter to fit within the overall style of the performance.

In some content areas of Inti Raymi there has been some debate. The script has undergone numerous changes, the abilities and bearing of the actor portraying the Inca has been questioned, and local and national authorities have struggled to maintain control over the physical spaces of the performance. However, there has been little tension around the music of Inti Raymi. This indicates that music is not an area in which local people are able to or see reason to struggle for control. Within the context of Inti Raymi *música cusqueña,* the repertoire, the instruments, the style and form are a *fait accomplis*.

Other Filigranas Performances

As totalizing as the musical style and aesthetics of Inti Raymi may appear, other performances by the group *Filigranas Peruanas* reveal that outside of Inti Raymi, but still within the contexts of music and tourism in Cusco, there is still room for cultural and musical variety and exploration.

Inti Raymi was a rare opportunity for *Filigranas Peruanas's* directors and dancers to perform what is considered a major work within local cultural landscape, but their typical performance opportunities ranged from small scale performance involving a dozen dancers (two to three dances and prerecorded music) to large scale spectacle involving over a hundred dancers and live musicians. They performed, sometimes free

of charge, for local groups.[16] They also earned money to pay for travel, new costumes, and rehearsal and storage space by renting their costumes and by performing for tourists. Below, I describe two performances for tourists that I witnessed which demonstrate a range of possibilities for performances of music and dance that constitute a much wider, and more varied definition of *cusqueño* music, dance and culture, and does so within the context of tourism.

The first performance took place on August 23, 2006. It was a private, contracted performance for a group of doctors having a professional conference in Cusco. This organization rented the main interior courtyard of the Santo Domingo church, hired *Filigranas Peruanas* for the entertainment, and arranged for lavish catering.

Two things made this performance stand out compared to others that I saw in Cusco. First was the amazing setting. Santo Domingo is most often visited during the day time because it is a fine example of a colonial era cathedral and monastery, which happens to sit atop the site of the ruins of Qoricancha, the main regional center during the Inca civilization. Today, it is privately owned by a monastic order of the Roman Catholic Church, so they control visitor access to the site and use entrance fees and

[16] I saw a small contingent of dancers perform to prerecorded music at a local primary school and at a

private bookings to support themselves. That night, the *Filigranas Peruanas* performance included professional lighting and sound system, which helped the ambience greatly. Also, the four corners of the large interior courtyard were filled with tables abundantly covered with food. On either side of the courtyard, but between the catering tables, were two raised stages for the musicians. In the center was a colonial era fountain, beautifully lit. It was a far cry from the cramped, steep, rocky hill that I had watched Inti Raymi from in a cold, drizzling rain just a few months earlier.

The performance was also memorable because it was the only time that I saw a performance of local music and dance that did not strive for strict historical or ethnographic realism. The first half of the performance was a fantasy on a myth of the Inca's gods. Accompanied by a group of four *quenas* and a percussionist on the *bombo*, two male dancers and two female dancers on stilts danced around the courtyard in flowing costumes while a narrator described their powers and actions. It was the only performance I remember when the content was Andean imagination and artistry rather than a faithful, but at times repetitious, performance of something from the standard repertoire of folk dances and historical Incan rituals.

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local food festival.

The second example of memorable *Filigranas Peruanas* performance was more within the traditional repertoire since it was an artistic representation of the Virgin of Carmen festival in Paurcartambo. I argue that this performance, again for tourists, illustrated another way in which the group was able to avoid mindless by repeating the accepted performance structure for this repertoire by turning it into a meaningful experience for themselves and the audience. They gradually drew the audience in, so that by the end many spectators were also participants as well.[17]

On October 11, 2006, I stood in a cold rain in the Plaza Nazarenes, which is known for its high end restaurants and the hotel Montesario (a five star hotel located in a former monastery), waiting for the performance to begin. I had no idea what was scheduled. A surprisingly small group of 20-30 tourists gathered under an awning set up for them. For the first time, *Filigranas Peruanas* hired a large band with clarinets, trumpets, and alto and tenor saxophone. They also had a smaller ensemble that included *quena* and violin. Gradually, as the dancers entered the plaza, I recognized the costumes as some of those performed at the Virgin of Carmen festival in Paurcartambo, including *mejeños* and *qhapaq qollas.*[18]

[17] Of course the how genuine the experience feels is subjective and this tactic is used in other contexts with varying success.
[18] see Mendoza 2000 for a description and social analysis of these dances.

In less than an hour, the group represented all the major aspects of the festival including the procession of the dance groups and the icon of the virgin. They even included the "games" of the *qollas,* when they ritually whip each other on the legs. The music was the traditional music and ensembles that accompany those dances. Also, much like the actual festival, onlookers (in this case tourists) lined up to watch the dancers pass in procession.

Near the end of the performance the dancers grew more exuberant, interacting among the different groups, improving movements and dramatic action. It reminded me of other patron saint festivals that I have attended, when the procession winds down and the dancers and spectators get ready to really party. As this went on, a few dancers approached some of the more engaged (already dancing and swaying) tourists and asked them to dance. After it was clear that the dancing tourists were having a good time, others joined in. I was surprised how many really got into it. This went on long enough with a number of tourists, and with enough real enthusiasm, that it occurred to me that they had crossed over into a kind of participation in the performance, rather than passive viewing of the performance.

Conclusions: Performing History, Performing Historical Music

To conclude this chapter on Inti Raymi, it is helpful to examine it from a broader perspective than just *indigenismo* in Cusco. Inti Raymi also fits into the category of historical reenactment for tourists, like Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation in the United States. In an article on historical interpretations, Magelssen (2006) expressed some interesting criticism of these practices. At Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation interpreters take on the persona of someone who actually lived in those communities in the past and interact with tourists in the first person, taking on that historical persona completely. Instead of bringing life and agency to history, Magelssen argued that such interpretations depend on modernist notions of linear time and progress and promote a univocal narrative on the past. He wrote:

> Because both the regimented images of time and history
> and curatorial agendas of nostalgia and nationalism are
> institutionally affirmed and enforced at today's living museums
> and because these notions are interiorized by museum visitors,
> the individual's claim to a personal history at these sites is likely
> to be erased or absorbed into state history. Unless this changes,
> living history museums' historiographic practices will continue
> to rehearse a reanimation of what has been chosen by
> the institution as worthy of remembrance. (Magelssen 2006:293)

He went on to advocate an open-ended second person history in which museum visitors immerse themselves in the past, with all its complexities and ambiguities, and are then given a chance to make their own decisions and interact personally with the past.

I am not suggesting that Inti Raymi should radically change to this second person interpretation model, but rather that Magelssen's criticism of historical interpretation offers a place to ask the same critical questions about the music of Inti Raymi. Above all else, Cusqueños, both performers in cultural groups and spectators, consider Inti Raymi as living history; after all the expert research and revisions, it is as historically accurate as possible. This includes the music. As I noted above, because the music strives to accurately recreate Inca music, there are strict limitations placed on the instrumentation, mode, repertoire, and other areas. As a cultural resource, then, the Inca sub-repertoire of *música cusqueña* maintains its value through its perceived historical accuracy. The question, then, is faithfulness to the past and individual agency and imagination mutually exclusive within the context of culture as a resource and tourism?

Música cusqueña is not the only musical repertoire to try to re-create a music from the past. In this case, the work of Kaufman Shelemay (2001) on the early music movement provides some interesting information about another musical repertoire

where performers and audiences creatively interact with the past. She wrote:

> Thus the early music movement, while drawing on music of the historical past, is powerfully informed by the creative impulses of its practitioners and the aesthetics of the present. Yet the "otherness" of the past remains ever-present, both a motivating force and strong drawing card for some practitioners and many in the audience…Present-day creativity thus joins with historical awareness and operates actively in all domains of program planning and performance practice. (Kaufman Shelemay 2001:9-10)

She went on to discuss the ethnographic information she and her colleagues gathered in the late 1990s on the early music scene in Boston, including: the amateur, professional, and specialist performers; local and international networks; and institutions. The research revealed a surprisingly diverse practice where participants debate authenticity and the power of subscribing to or subverting such a concept.

I bring up this example because of the idea the author expressed as “present-day creativity” in relation to “historical awareness.” I suggest that this formula may offer the most possibilities for individual and group agency and musical creativity because it implies active, on-going reinterpretations and multiple performance possibilities and values.

Currently, my impression of the state of the past in Cusco is one where debates are possible, but all parties involved appear to believe that there is one correct

interpretation and recreation of the past. The debate is about finding the most correct answer based on a limited number of historical documents and sometimes contemporary cultural practices. The value and authenticity of practices are currently derived from their faithfulness to that one best understanding of the past.

Given the diverse and cosmopolitan nature of Cusco's society, how can a musical practice remain relevant when it is confined to one "correct" iteration? It cannot. When people simply repeat the same performance about the past because it is historically "correct" there is always the danger that it will one day be abandoned or forgotten. (This was indeed the case with two historical performances discussed in the next chapter.) Instead, the work of experts and cultural groups to continually reexamine the cultural meaning of and possible practices for Inti Raymi, the energy for hundred Cusqueños to perform it, the enthusiasm of the tens of thousands who watch it, and those to use its prestige to gain power for their positions, *they* should be understood as imbuing the performance with cultural meaning, rather than the historical accuracy of such things as a *quena* versus an accordion.

Chapter Three

Other Raymis: Cultural Resources on the Periphery

Inti Raymi's status as a cultural resource can, in part, be gauged by the number of other raymi festivals that have sprung up in the small towns around the city of Cusco.[19] On the surface they may appear to be merely copies of the format and aesthetics of a well known and successful model, since all the raymi festivals had musicians, dancers, and actors in Inca costumes performing history in public spaces. However, deeper consideration of the festivals that I observed and researched during 2006 demonstrates that the raymi festivals represent a variety of outcomes that go beyond mere copies. Further, they shed light on how culture as a resource operates in small, sometimes rural, communities on the periphery of the city Cusco.

I researched the now defunct festival Ajha Raymi in the archives of the municipal library and *Filigranas Peruanas*, and also attended the following festivals in 2006: Leyenda de los Hermanos Ayar, Qocha Raymi, Tanta Raymi, and Killa Raymi. (See Appendix B for a table of local festivals with music and historical reenactments.) In examining these festivals, a story emerges about how small towns on the periphery of

Cusco recreate or appropriate urban performance models and interpret history, culture and the local landscape to garner prestige and to increase their share of the economic benefits from tourism by attempting to pull tourists away from the urban center. As the following examples illustrate, small towns blend local festival models with that of Inti Raymi in diverse ways, though most appear to have had only modest success in attracting tourists. Yet, in all but two cases, Ajha Raymi and Tanta Raymi, these historical reenactments were vibrant parts of the local culture. In considering the impacts of tourism and culture as a resource in these small communities, questions arise about the benefits and agency local musicians and community members gained from these performances and the extent to which their agency was limited by outside forces. Overall, results were mixed. Some festivals had the support of local people, while some failed. Some people gained opportunities, while others did not. Finally, communities garnered some prestige, but what were the consequences of that recognition?

Ajha Raymi-Chicha (Corn Beer) Festival

Ajha Raymi began in Santiago, a working class to poor district of Cusco, in 1997. It was performed every year in early June in the main plaza of the district. The group *Filigranas Peruanas* appeared in the inaugural year and again in 1999 (*Filigranas*

[19] I use the term raymi festival to denote any live performance where Inca history, religion or mythology

Peruanas Archives "Fundamentacion Documentada...", p.7). The premise of the festival was to reenact the Inca ritual production and offering of *chicha*, corn beer. Like Inti Raymi, it included music and dancing was well as a Quechua language script performed by musicians, dancers, and actors in Inca costume. In 2000 the performance was held on June 11th in the plaza of Santiago. The mayor of Santiago Víctor Abel said that he considered the performance a success because of the noticeable increase in tourists ("Fiesta de Ajha Raymi fué en éxito," 2000:10). However, by 2002 interest in staging the performance had waned and it was completely relinquished.

Ajha Raymi serves as an interesting example of a raymi festival that never gained enough traction within the community to become a continuing part of the local culture. However, during the time of its performance it did get the attention of critics, an interesting point because public criticism of such cultural performances is rare. On June 12, 1998 the local newspaper *El Sol del Cusco* quoted the prominent Cusqueño anthropologist Jorge Flores Ochoa as saying:

> There are two perspectives, one a celebration of this type that they can do and present how they like, my objection is that they say that it is historic, that's my objection. I will appreciate it more if they will say that we are inventing this festival and we want a festival thinking about something Inca, but to want to transform it...The [colonial] chronicles do not record this in any

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are performed.

> way; there is no festival dedicated to making chicha. ("'Ajha Raymi' es un invento del alcalde de Santiago sostienen estudios cusqueños" 1998:7)

Flores Ochoa's objection was that Ajha Raymi was invented because it was not mentioned in the colonial chronicles as a ritual that was practiced by the Incas. Upon deeper examination, Flores Ochoa's statement linked raymi performances to a line of critical thought not often debated publicly in Cusco, that of traditions as inventions. Hobsbawm wrote that invented traditions fall into "three overlapping types: a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relationships of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, values systems and conventions of behavior" (Hobsbawm 1983:9).

With this perspective in mind, it seems clear that Flores Ochoa was impugning Ajha Raymi for its lack of historical documentation as well as the over-reaching ambition of the mayor, but did not address the broader social implications of invented traditions. While the anxious need to confirm and reconfirm the historical accuracy and authenticity of archaeological sites and festivals like Inti Raymi is ever-present in

academic and popular discussions, a discussion of the reality of human invention and intervention is rarely considered in Cusco at the popular level.

Finally, I want to discuss the role that cultural institutions play in creating and performing raymi festivals. Groups like *Filigranas Peruanas* can be a resource for musical, choreographic, and costume materials when a community or private groups want to initiate a performance of music and dance, whether the subject is historical or contemporary folk culture. Communities do not need to take on the arduous process of researching the music, dance, and costumes. *Filigranas Peruanas*, specifically its artistic director Leonardo Arana Yampe, has already compiled a broad enough repertoire to suit a variety of needs. They also have an immense collection of well made costumes, which they use themselves and rent to other groups. In a complex and stratified society *Filigranas Peruanas* are specialists in culture. They are the experts that make these performances happen. In that sense they act as cultural brokers within their own society.

In Cusco there are high expectations for the quality, scale and historical authenticity of raymi type performances. As a consequence, though the content of the performance is supposed to be the shared culture and history of the community, in practice only certain members of that community are adept at actually performing it.

Raymi type performances need cultural brokers. This potentially gives certain people tremendous power over culture concerning: who may have access; who may participate; and the content of the performance. (This is in stark contrast to the musicians, dancers, and costumes discussed in chapter four for whom religious faith, and not historical documentation, was paramount.)

In the case of *Filigranas Peruanas*, I observed a commitment to sharing this specialized cultural knowledge with other performers and audiences. Unlike other dance groups that are comprised of members of the same high school, the same profession (Mendoza 2000), or neighborhood (as was the case in chapter four), Filigranas Peruanas's members were people mainly in their late teens and twenties from all over Cusco. They performed not only at large prestigious events like Inti Raymi, but also at very small public school functions and local food fairs. The group's artistic director saw his mission as mainly educational, for both the young dancers and musicians in the group as well as the public (Personal interview with Arana Yampe, June 8, 2006).

Having the resources and ability to perform almost anything does not mean that anything or any invented tradition is fair game. Faithfulness to historical accuracy can take on an ethical dimension. Director Arana Yampe told me in an interview that he was once asked by a group in the neighboring department of Apurímac to create a

performance about the Chankas. He flatly refused to participate because in his research he could not find evidence that the Chankas were really a distinct culture and a rival to the Incas. (Personal interview with Arana Yampe July 3, 2006).

La Leyenda de Los Hermanos Ayar- The Legend of the Ayar Siblings

Figure 3. Los Hermanos Ayar musicians. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

The legend of Los Hermanos Ayar is one of two well known versions of a myth about the origin of the Inca people. In one version, studied by Bandelier (1904) (see chapter one), Manco Capac and Mama Ojilla emerged from Lake Titicaca. In the other version, a group of brothers and sisters called Ayar emerged from the rock Puma Orca, which is located near the archaeological site of Maukallaqta near the present day village

of Paccarectambo in the province of Paruro. This site is approximately 26 kilometers from Cusco (Urton 2004:12). Among the siblings were Manco Capac and Mama Ojilla. One of the brothers, Cachi, was locked in a rock because of his aggression. The rest of the narrative concerns how the remaining siblings decided to find new territories and journeyed from Paccarectambo to the valley of Cusco, where they founded their new community. In the valley of Cusco they met people from another culture, who they "civilized" by teaching them about agriculture.

The performance of the Hermanos Ayar at Maukallaqta began in June 2004. Earlier that year in Cusco, Roberto Portugal, the director of higher educational institution Khipu, with the music group Expressión were trying to recreate the Inca practice of *taki* with an audience of tourists. A *taki* literally means song in Quechua, but in this case it was more like a combination of experimental musical theatre and historical reenactment. They worked up a version of the legend of the Hermanos Ayar with script, music and costumes and were giving successful performances in a theater in Cusco, when the mayor of Paccarectambo Urbano Quispe came and said that they should collaborate to perform it in Maukallaqta that year. They did with some funding from the INC along with permission to stage the event at Maukallaqta (Personal interview with Portugal, October 18, 2006).

The script of the performance differed slightly from the versions of the myth found in the colonial chronicles. In the contemporary reenactment, the Inca watches a performance that his people present to him about their history involving the emergence of the Hermanos Ayar and the founding of Cusco. Framing the myth as a performance observed by the Inca creates the perspective of a performance within a performance. The beginning and end of the performance are marked by the entrance and exit of the Inca carried on a golden litter, just as he is carried in the performance of Inti Raymi in Cusco.

In 2005 the performance was on June 19th at 11:30am in Maukallaqta. This was followed by groups performing folk dances, similar to the folk dance competition that is held after Inti Raymi. With a script modified from the first year, the INC paid artists to play the central roles. The Inca was played by Francisco León, who has also performed as the Inca in Inti Raymi. The INC contributed 28,000 soles to the production and the municipality contributed 12,000 soles, for a total of 40,000 soles ("La escenificación..." 2005: 7). The Association KHIPU implemented a plan for sustainability of the site during the performance that was intended to keep people from throwing garbage or cooking near the ruins. This was a frequent criticism of the Inti Raymi performances

until 2006, when cooking, camping, and ambulant vendors were banned to protect the archaeological site (“Khipu alista...” 2005: 8).

In an effort to switch control of the performance to the local communities, all the dramatic roles were filled by local people, including many school children, at the performance that I attended in June 2006. Only the musicians were specialists, brought in from outside the community. While no explanation was given for this at the performance, it may have been because expectations for the number of musicians, their repertoire, and the quality of their performance did not fall within typical local practices, as outlined in chapter five. Festivals like the Legend of the Hermanos Ayar resemble Inti Raymi in their strict adherence to a certain musical aesthetic. (See chapter two for a description of this aesthetic). With very few exceptions, musicians in small towns do not make a living by playing music alone. They are also drivers, farmers, or laborers. Like the musicians discussed in the next chapter, they may be hired a few times a year on a temporary basis for processions and performances related to local patron saint festivals or the pilgrimage to Señor de Qoyllurit'i. The musical repertoire for these occasions is much different than the raymi music repertoire. Also, instruments such as violin and accordion, common to patron saint festivals, were clearly not

acceptable within the raymi musical aesthetic. Therefore, without special training, local musicians may not be fully participating in local raymi performances.

Like all other raymi performances, the organizers stated that the main purpose of the festival was to enhance the cultural pride of local people in their culture and to develop the economy by attracting tourists. In a general sense, the first goal appeared to be successful in that community participation and attendance was strong. However, I saw very few foreign tourists there. Including myself, I counted six others. Since entrance to the event was free to the public, where might the economy have been helped by tourists? The main areas for profit are in transportation and vending mainly food and drinks. This is the main economic engine of any festival. At Inti Raymi in 2006, informal ambulant vendors were tightly controlled and officially banned from the ruins of Sacayhuaman in an effort to reduce garbage and preserve the archaeological site. The vending practices at the other raymi festivals varied greatly. At Los Hermanos Ayar, there was one large tent set up to sell beer, but the rest were very small operations, just one or two people selling mana (a type of sweetened popped corn from very large kernels) or just fried fish. For people who can quickly get the capital to buy and transport their goods, raymi festivals represent a rare opportunity to earn some extra cash. This economic model is exactly the same as local patron saint festivals (which I

attended in 2002 and 2003 in the neighboring town of Yaurisque). Therefore, people simply applied a working model to another performance context. While the tourists did not appear at Los Hermanos Ayar in 2006, there were many local people who bought food and drinks. Therefore, the festival created an opportunity for some local residents to earn extra cash.

Qocha Raymi-Water Festival

Figure 4. Qocha Raymi musicians. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

Since September 1995 the community of Urcos, a small town approximately 1 hour from Cusco, has performed a raymi type performance of an Inca ritual honoring water. Like Ajha Raymi, this was not part of the Inca ritual calendar recorded in the colonial chronicles. Rather than historical ties, water became the focus of the festival because Urcos's main attraction is its lake. Since it was newly founded during colonial times, unlike Paccarectambo and Cusco, it does not have a prominent archaeological site. Also like Ajha Raymi, this festival was created through the efforts of local political leaders to enhance the town's image and to attract tourists.

In 2006, the performance took place in a municipal park near the lake in a space where terraces had been excavated out of the hillside. The performance began with the sound of music coming from musicians who were hidden behind the hill to the left of the terraces. Slowly they emerged. Some were in Inca costumes while others wore the traditional ponchos of the rural villages around Urcos. The Inca-costumed musicians played drums and *quenas*. The musicians wearing ponchos had a type of panpipe that played tone clusters that sounded like the Japanese *shō,* and a few played conch trumpets. They made their way to the stage and given their large numbers, around 25-30. They appeared very impressive, but then proceeded to play basically the same piece of music for the next hour and a half. The musicians in the ponchos only added tone

clusters, but never any unique melodic material. The stage was full of musicians and I expected more variety in the music, since it appeared to be a collaboration between a cultural group from Cusco and rural musicians. However despite their visual impact, the musicians in ponchos only played a minor role. And though they also adhered to the strict aesthetics of Inca music for raymi performances, they did so with the least amount of variety in repertoire that I ever saw in a performance of this type.

Next groups of male students in various colored tunics carrying rainbow flags came out from the same location behind the terraces and moved in patterns, dancing from the second to the lowest terrace. Then the Inca entered on a litter, preceded by people in condor folk dance costumes, and moved to the center of the stage where a wooden tower stood. The *Coya* entered from a boat on the lake, which was to the right of the stage. Four young men, representing *chaskis,* swam to the shore from the island in the lake. Finally, there were three young women who I think represented lakes. The music stopped when the Inca spoke, "Urcos llaqta" (Community/people of Urcos). Inti Raymi opens with the Inca making the same greeting to the people of Cusco.

During the performance, a ceremony was represented in which four ceramic jars were thrown off the tower. Then Ausangate and the other sacred mountains were evoked, which is also part of the Inti Raymi script. Then, as the highlight of the

performance, the Inca went down to the shore and dove into the lake and returned with the *chaskis*. He climbed the tower again and pushed a large jug off the tower. Then the Inca exited on a litter, not in the direction in which he had entered, but in the direction of the lower section of the audience area where the food was sold. He passed through the crowd, who applauded on either side. Then the rest of the performers exited in this way, with the musicians last.

Like the Legend of the Hermanos Ayar, the performance at Urcos had a typical festival atmosphere with: popular music (huaynos, chicha, and the group Alborado) blares from the sound system before and after the performance; booths and tables selling food and drinks; and copious amounts of beer (for later in the evening when Max Castro was scheduled to perform). Also like the Legend of the Hermanos Ayar, I did not see many foreign tourists. The local community and some people from Cusco attended, but there were only 3000-4000 people at the most.

Tanta Raymi-Bread Festival

The community of Oropesa (45 minutes from Cusco) began the festival of bread in October 1993 to honor their principle industry, the commercial production of bread. Like Urcos, Oropesa was newly founded during the colonial time. The Quechua name notwithstanding, the performance of Tanta Raymi actually honored historical events

from the colonial era that locals viewed as crucial to their present day identity. The performance represented how the Spanish introduced wheat and bread production to the town, which led to the town's current renown and prosperity as the breadbasket of Cusco. Unfortunately, by the time I attended the festival in 2006, the historical reenactment had been abandoned, leaving the focus of the festival on the bread and the popular music concert in the evening.

In 2006, the festival commenced just before noon. Already the *plaza de armas* was quite full. All along the perimeter were tables and stalls selling bread, food and drink Bread producers from the village jealously guarded this prime real estate, since all the music and dance took place in the central plaza of the town. The officials left the church and took their places under the tent set up with chairs for them. There was the mayor, the President of the Bread Makers Association, representatives of Alicorp (a flour company), and representatives from the towns of San Jeronimo and San Sebastian. There was a flag raising ceremony at which the national anthem and the Himno al Cusco were sung. The mayor raised the Peruvian flag and the representative of Alicorp raised the Cusco rainbow flag. Other sponsors were Fleishmans and Pilsen (beer). In his speech, the President of the Bread makers Association called Oropesa a “colonial” town whose heritage was bread, the secrets of which were left by the first Spanish. The

dignitaries moved to the center of the plaza to inaugurate the festival. The mayor paid tribute to the women "*mestizas*" who "commercialize" the bread.

Next, the band from Educanas high school played for about thirty minutes. They played a medley of Mozart's Turkish March, Beethoven's Ode to Joy, Brahms's Cradle Song, Rossini's William Tell Overture and finally Robles's Condor Pasa. Next *Filigranas Peruanas* presented a series of dances that represented the different regions of the country, beginning with the *selva,* rainforest. The local group of Qhapaq Negros also danced. This group traditionally performs at patron saint festivals. Then there was a break of several hours to eat and drink until the concert began in the evening, headlined by Anita Sandovales, a singer of popular *huaynos.* Like the Hermanos Ayar and Qocha Raymi, this festival seemed most like an adaptation of local models of patron saint festival or agricultural fair. In this case the historical performance was abandoned and the festival's obvious popularity demonstrated that the present day production of bread, rather than the colonial origin of bread, was more significant to local people.

Killa Raymi-Moon Festival

Killa Raymi began in October 1987 in the town of San Jeronimo (15 minutes south of Cusco) as a performance reenacting an Inca ritual offering to the moon. The

performance takes place in the local schoolyard since the musicians, dancers and actors are the students of the school Colegio Fe y Alegria no.21 in San Jeronimo.

Figure 5. Killa Raymi, San Jeronimo, Peru. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

While this performance was most similar to Inti Raymi, the atmosphere was more like that of a school play or recital than a major festival. The majority of the audience was made up of parents who oohed and awed at their children while they frequently snapped pictures. Despite its close proximity to Cusco and abundant advertising, there were only a few dozen tourists in attendance.

Since the main subject was the moon, this performance took place in the early evening. In 2006, my husband and I arrived around 5:45 p.m. and the performance had just started. The stage was located on the paved soccer field of the school, and fences were covered with cloth decorated to look like stone walls found at Inca archaeological sites. There was also a stage at the center back for the Inca, *Coya*, *Sacerdote* (priest), and other important characters. The musicians were to the left of the stage and the instruments they played included: wind instruments such as *quenas* in different octaves, *zampoñas*; and percussion instruments such as *bombos*, *tinyas*, and a rainstick. They played a variety of music, though recognizable from other Inca dramatizations and in adherence to the raymi musical aesthetic. The music accompanied all the dramatic acts that had no dialog and all the dance scenes.

Many aspects of the performances were the same as Inti Raymi: saluting the *Apus*, a *chicha* ceremony, the sacrifice of a llama, and dances, which were performed in groups by grade level. One difference was that the *Coya* actually spoke, probably because the moon is seen as feminine in Andean culture. Another difference included a ceremony where young children lined up, tossed off their red capes, washed their hands and faces, and then painted their faces with flour and walked off solemnly. In the performance, four groups of four women each, representing the four parts of the empire,

brought out mummies and carried them in procession around the stage. One of the dances was exactly like one performed at Inti Raymi that year, but since there were more than four dances, they did not represent the four regions of the Inca empire, as did the dances in Inti Raymi.

If the other raymi performances mentioned before resembled rural patron saint festivals, the performance of Killa Raymi was like a school recital, when each of the classes got its turn to dance. The dances became longer and more sophisticated as the children grew older. One dance of the *selva* included a part when a princess danced herself to death and was then carried to the sacrificial platform. In another dance a deer was hunted and laid next to the princess. The final dance was impressive. All male dancers, dressed the same but calling out the names of the different *suyus,* regions of the Inca empire, danced with lit torches. The lights were dimmed and the people oohed and said bravo. When the performance was over, parents found their children and everyone appeared to go home. Unlike other festivals, there was no after-party of food, drink and popular music.

Beyond Cusco

Indigenismo, Inca Theater, and Inti Raymi in Cusco influenced popular performances of history far beyond the region. Wibbelsman (2005) researched Inti

Raymi performances in Cotacachi, Ecuador. Also held on June 24th, groups of male dancers from the same community dance and compete against other local dance groups for control of the town square. She viewed this festival as a time and space for indigenous people of the area to "reflexively evaluate, perform, and continuously redefine their sense of identity in ethnic relation to urban white-*mestizo*s (non-indigenous Ecuadorians), vis-à-vis one another and as sacred beings within the Andean universe" (Wibbelsman 2005:196). She described a dynamic performance where costumes and other aspects changed in relation to changing circumstances, such as a border war with Peru or the rise of indigenous merchants from Otavalo. So, although the actual performances have little in common with Inti Raymi in Cusco, Wibbelsman noted that the term Inti Raymi was "knowingly borrowed from Peruvian and Bolivian sources" in an effort to rename Catholic-Spanish festivals to "revalorize indigenous languages and knowledge" (Wibbelsman 2005:221-222).

Millones (1992) studied popular theater in the central Andes in the department of Junín. He reported that in the town of Carhuamayo the people have performed The Death of Altahualpa since 1929 (Millones 1992:67).[20] The community also performs the story of Ollantay. Millones wrote that it was no accident that these public performances

focused on Inca themes. Millones viewed these performances as part of the "expansion of *indigenismo* from Cusco" (Millones 1992:103). Millones also gave important insight into understanding why people in the central Andes in the early-mid twentieth century might adopt this type of performance. He wrote,

> …through the dramas they make explicit the contradictions between life in their communities and the central government located in Lima. In representing the Inca, the people of Carhuamayo use history as a metaphor of their current condition, utilizing figures from the past to make up a scenario where they make social injustices understood: the abandonment and abuses of the government, the struggle for control of their lands, etc… (Millones 1992:104).

Conclusion

When considering how people on the periphery of Cusco develop and use cultural resources, one point becomes clear. Rather than concentrate the power to successfully perform raymi-type performances in the hands of a few central cultural institutions, the prestige of Inti Raymi has, instead, spurred the creativity of small towns to develop their own performances based on their local landscape and history. However, these examples also indicate that local cultural creativity has constraints imposed by the

[20] Altahualpa was, of course, the Inca ruler captured by Pissarro and his men, held for ransom and later executed. The events are well documented in many colonial era chronicles.

raymi musical aesthetic, the prestige of cultural heritage, and the pressure for economic opportunities.

Interestingly, the music for raymi festivals had the least amount of local participation. With the exception of Killa Raymi when the school children were the musicians, these raymi festivals offered limited opportunities for local musicians to play key roles. Given the strict aesthetics and expectations generated by Inti Raymi's cultural and historical patrimony model, the traditional performance model, repertoire, and aesthetics of rural musicians has not yet been an easy fit into raymi performances. This is an important point in the discussion of who shares in and controls culture when it is used as a resource. However, given the broad perspective taken in my research, I currently am not able to offer more than this observation. In attending so many performances across the region, I was not able to establish relationships with local musicians to report in greater detail on their personal views on raymi festivals.

This lack of connection may also be related to the structure of the performance. Unlike pilgrimage performances or patron saint festivals where the audience and the musicians are all celebrants and move together through the same space, raymi performances typically have the musicians enter from off stage and then stand apart from the audience on a stage for the duration of the performance.

Keeping in mind the sometimes limited role for local musicians in their community's raymi performances, the effects of culture as a resource can be further understood by examining the overall access or control the local community has in the performance. First, despite public criticism of esteemed experts such as Dr. Flores Ochoa, communities are free to make their own festivals on the historical and cultural terms acceptable to themselves. As Ajha Raymi and Tanta Raymi indicate, without on-going public interest performances cannot continue.

With a spectacular model like Inti Raymi, local communities may have to enlist outside agencies to actually bring a performance into reality. First, if they wish to hold the event at an archaeological site, such as Maukallaqta, they must get permission from the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura (INC). Paramount in this bureaucratic process is the obligation to prove that the festival will not harm the site. Second, in some cases, such as Ajha Raymi and Los Hermanos Ayar, cultural experts from the city of Cusco are brought in to facilitate the performance. In those two cases the cultural groups seemed to have a huge impact on the content of the performance.

Given that the intent of these performances is to attract tourists and to raise the esteem of local communities, how fine is the line between being an active agent in one's community by performing cultural history and “being for others?” When culture is an

economic resource, does it oblige people in certain ways? When publicity and esteem are sought, what is the impact of this outside recognition? These questions are inspired by Ong's (1996) notion of cultural citizenship and Povinelli's research on indigenous identities and Australian multiculturalism. She wrote about:

> ...the impossible demand placed on these and other indigenous people: namely, that they desire and identify with their cultural traditions in a way that just happens, in an uncanny convergence of interests, to fit the national and legal imaginary of multiculturalism; that they at once orient their sensual, emotional, and corporal identities toward the nation's and law's image of traditional cultural forms and national reconciliation and at the same time ghost this *being for* the nation so as not to have their desires for some economic certainty in their lives appear opportunistic. (Povinelli 2002:8)

So, are small town's creatively adapting the Inti Raymi model or are they obliged by social forces to perform a certain cultural history in order to gain respect and economic opportunities? The answer appears to be a combination of both. Given the lack of foreign tourists and the enthusiasm of the local audiences, they appeared to be in large part performances by locals for locals that increased economic opportunities for some by creatively appropriating the prestige of Inti Raymi and blending it with local patron saint festivals.

However, even in these wonderfully entertaining festivals something awful lurks beneath the surface, in both the social context of these performances and the history of the genre. Here, too, the metaphor of picturesque filth proves salient. In many ways raymi performances, with their Inca glory, noble characters, and selective musical aesthetics would appear to be the antithesis of picturesque filth because they idealize a culture of security, nobility and authority. However, there is a clear contradiction in making this idealized culture into a resource. It ignores the very socio-economic problems that tourism is said to alleviate. Flores Ochoa and van den Berghe (2000) called this "*incanism.*" They wrote that while *incanismo* strives to improve the image of *campesinos*, (peasants):

> At the same time, however, *incanismo* provides some of the urban elite with an escapist, nostalgic, and revivalist ideology. By giving them a glowing vision of their place in the sun, it helps them, if only momentarily, to forget the unpleasant realities of underdevelopment, unemployment, pollution, terrorism, inequality, landlessness, corruption... (Flores Ochoa and van den Berghe 2000:11)

There is also a lack of recognition of the history of this genre. Raymi performances and their music have followed a circuitous route from the impoverished countryside, to urban spectacles and the gaze of international tourism, and back to the impoverished countryside. Recall that *indigenistas* sought to solve the "Indian problem"

through modern socio-economic advancement, that they attempted to achieve this by wedding a new identity based on indigenous models to cultural tourism. To create both the identity and the content of cultural performances for tourism, they went to the indigenous musicians and dancers of the countryside because in their abject poverty they had retained a historically authentic culture that could be salvaged and adapted by urban experts. The "raw materials" were processed into a spectacular, though, highly idealized performance that focused on the power, stability, and nobility of the Inca culture. So began Inti Raymi in 1944. Approximately fifty years later, inhabitants of rural towns (re)took this cultural performance, with the help of urban cultural brokers, in an attempt to finally gain a share in the economic prosperity of tourism.

These contradictions are what is awful and wonderful about all raymi performances, including Inti Raymi. Despite the prestigious and idealized surface, the kernel of truth, the picturesque filth of the situation remains. Though improved in many areas compared to the early 20th century, people in the rural Andes still live under very difficult circumstances and it appears that one of their only recourses is to reappropriate cultural practices and values formulated by urban elites and international agencies, which were, in part, originally from rural Andean culture in the first place.

So, to what degree are local people influenced into accepting this genre? In all the cases mentioned, outsiders never went to local communities, and literally forced them to undertake these performances. Power works here not through direct force, but through eliminating options. The stated goals of these performances were to increase the communities' pride in their cultural history and to increase economic opportunities. As the following illustrates, given present conditions people in the rural towns had few options but to turn to raymi performances and tourism.

To understand how social power influences local people, let us examine different genres of music popular in the area: Inca revival music, *huaynos*, and *chicha* (a blend of *huayno* melodic style with *cumbia* rhythms). When prestige and foreign tourists are the focus, in practice Inca revival music has become ubiquitous, while *huaynos* and *chicha* are considered inappropriate for those occasions. Aesthetically, the latter two are incorrect for a performance with a historical content mainly because of the instrumentation. More importantly, they evoke a social context in which people have ambivalent feelings. *Huaynos* and *chicha* are the music of both everyday life and of parties in these communities. They are heard on the radio daily and at special events such as fairs and festivals; and hence they are associated with excessive drinking and poor and working class culture. So, even though those musics are really part what

ethnomusicologists would consider culture (the totality of people's everyday lives), they are eliminated from culture that is a resource. Local people are free to choose, but only certain choices are considered correct and respectable.

Social power functions in this way not only in Cusco and its surrounding towns, but all over modern Latin America. García Canclini (1995) noted that the "staging of power" is integral to how conceptions of the past operate within modernity. He wrote:

> The dramatization of the patrimony is the effort to simulate that there is an origin, a founding substance, in relation with which we should act today. This is the basis of authoritarian cultural policies. The world is a stage, but what must be performed is already prescribed. The practices and objects of value are found cataloged in a fixed repertory. To be cultured implies knowing that repertory of symbolic goods and intervening correctly in the rituals that reproduce it. (García Canclini 1995:110)

The question is, does this ritualized performance of culture "disable people from living in the contemporary world, which is characterized...by its heterogeneity, mobility, and deterritorialization" (García Canclini 1995:113)? Or does it become a "resource for enduring the contradictions of contemporary life" (García Canclini 1995:113)? Based on what I observed, either could be the outcome for culture as a resource and it depends on three key factors: 1) the increased participation on local people, particularly musicians; 2) the freedom to creatively develop the raymi genre musically and

dramatically so that it remains a relevant part of people's lives; and 3) increased economic opportunities for large numbers of people that is sustainable.

Chapter Four:

Who's a Tourist?

> "I'm really pleased that we did this trek [Lares] instead [of the Inca trail] as we didn't see any other tourists the entire time so it felt far more authentic. We were also all pretty humbled by getting to see exactly how the local people (the descendants of the Incas) live nowadays, surviving in the tough conditions of the mountains on a Crofter's lifestyle as subsistence farmers and shepherds. But it was a delight to see all the local kids running up from their homes to greet us with smiling faces and a real sense of happiness despite the tough conditions they live in."
>
> --from travel blog entry "and how would Sir like his Guinea Pig served?" by pseudonym traveler Nacho Libre (posted October 10, 2007)

Introduction

Until this point, the concept of the tourist has been taken for granted. Given the context of Cusco, Peru, the most obvious definition of a tourist is someone who travels to a place away from their home for the purpose of leisure. However, in this chapter I want to question that limited definition to show how the roles of tourist, culture researcher (ethnomusicologist), and local can be understood from another perspective. This is not a question of defining identities. Rather, I explore common assumptions

about what each does and how those practices affect what they know about a place and culture. This question explores three areas: the theory and methodology behind the fieldwork and written analysis of this dissertation; how perceptions of behavior and knowledge frame traditional divisions of insider and outsider; and ways in which this dichotomy may blur. I assert that by participating in local performances in a manner similar to the role of a tourist, I could acquire information about those events and the social contexts and simultaneously interrogate that method of research.

Research Method

To gather information for this dissertation, my fieldwork method had two approaches. First, I gathered information in libraries and archives in Cusco because information in the public realm and a historical perspective are important components in the final written analysis. Second, I used participant observation method at public festivals, a pilgrimage, and dinner show restaurants, but my participation and observations did not follow typical patterns for ethnomusicology. I did not participate in the musical performance by playing music, and I did not observe all the "*inponderabilia of actual life"* as is the Malinowskian ideal of fieldwork, the typical methods for ethnomusicological fieldwork. (Malinowski 1922:19).[21]

[21] See introduction on Malinowski.

Scholars have promoted the idea that music really only exists in performance rather than an abstract system wholly transcribable into notation (Béhague 1984; 2006). Therefore, many ethnomusicologists participate by playing music as a method to gather information (Slawek 1994). I followed this method for my master's thesis by taking music lessons (LaBate 2004). However, because the music for this research project was in the context of large festivals and a pilgrimage where foreigners rarely participate as performers, it seemed intrusive and possibly disruptive to participate as a musician, making the traditional form of participation impractical. Upon reflection, I surmised that within those particular music contexts I was most like a tourist, since being part of the audience rather than onstage seemed to be the most obvious option. Therefore, I decided to participate *like* a tourist: I attended public rehearsals and performances, where I sat in the audience and watched, listened, and filmed like hundreds or thousands of others. I also visited the two tourist information centers, one run by the national government office PROM PERÚ and the other run by the city of Cusco.

Figure 6. The author on the Lares Trek. Photo by Jimmi Aguirre. Used with Permission. All rights reserved.

I traveled around the Cusco region and farther north (Ecuador and Peru's north coast) and south (Lake Titicaca on the Bolivian side). While in these situations I observed everyone, listened to their conversations and noted their behavior.

Some things that I did are not often done by tourists, but there is nothing prohibiting tourists from these places and actions. I lived in the city of Cusco for over ten months and I previously lived there in the summers of 2002 and 2003. I also spent hundreds of hours in the municipal and Centro Bartolomé de las Casas libraries.

Finally, I sometimes spoke with people who organized the performances. Since this resembles traditional ethnographic practices, this point needs some clarification, so that the nature of those interviews is clear. These were not the kind of ethnographic interviews conducted with key informants with whom the researcher has invested hours developing a rapport. I simply identified myself as a graduate student in ethnomusicology and asked to make an appointment to ask a few questions. I arrived at their office (or in the case of Sergio Villafuerte in chapter six, I spoke with him after a gig in a restaurant) and asked questions about the history of the group and the performance. Overall, it was like an interview for a basic newspaper article in which I was only trying to confirm information that I had observed or read in publication. I intentionally avoided asking sensitive questions such as, "Do you think that the selection process of Inti Raymi is corrupt?" or "Is tourism ruining Cusco?" My goal was to accurately record basic and publicly accessible information. I did not develop professional relationships with the people I spoke with and could not claim to know them well. Therefore, I cannot interpret what they might *really mean*; I have to take their statements at face value. As noted in the introduction, this multi-sited approach to fieldwork results in thin description of specific, local ethnographic details. However, in return, the approach yields a broader perspective on culture as a resource.

Overall, I consciously tried to go to places that were accessible to tourists and to make those social spaces the basis for my fieldwork. That, of course, means that the information comes from a particular perspective, and *that* particularity is, in part, my point in choosing this method. The information should not be taken as an all-inclusive perspective on Cusco as a culture, since such a totalizing project would seem untenable after the critiques of ethnography as a form of representation. In addition, such a perspective allows me to question the assumption that tourists are incapable of really understanding conditions in the "Third World" because the spaces they travel through are partial, bounded by the structures of commercial tourism circuits, and their contacts with local people and culture superficial.

The Outsiders: Participation, Perspective and Knowledge Production in Tourism

When I first considered this method of fieldwork, I rejected it out of hand. Like many, I thought that tourists' knowledge and experiences were superficial because they only connected to a small part of a culture and only for a short time. Located always on the outside, accurate information and insight into a culture could not be gained from their limited or "skewed" perspective. In the cultural dichotomy of insiders and outsiders, tourists are imagined as outsiders *par excellence*. They leave their homes to travel to a different location, driven by the desire to experience a new place and a

different way of life. In short, the purpose of travel is to leave one's work-a-day routine behind. Because of this, tourists may not know the language or customs of the country, making their public behavior distinct. They stay for only a short time, but devote that time to leisure activities, such as sightseeing, shopping, dining, music or theater events, spa treatment, etc. Thus, they engage in activities designed to escape from quotidian responsibilities, but paradoxically, their experiences in the new place must be supported by the service of others devoted to everyday responsibilities such as work.

In chapter one I quoted Paul Theroux's description of third world tourism as "the mobile rich making a blind blundering visitation on the inert poor" (Theroux 1979:300). Because of this outsider status, the characterization of tourists as "blind and blundering" is very common in literature (both scholarly and popular) and films about travel. To sketch the blind and blundering tourist, two sources are particularly useful. First, the documentary film *Cannibal Tours*, the 1988 film followed European and American tourists as they visited Papua New Guinea, a place of interest to tourists because of its alleged cannibal past. The film showed tourists discussing the history of cannibalism, painting their faces in "native style," and perusing the native craft market for culturally authentic souvenirs. There was a particularly funny and representative scene near the end of the film in which a couple proudly displayed the crafts they

purchased: phallic carvings. They giggled like teenagers as they boarded the small plane that whisked them off to their next destination. The local population in the film quietly and forbearingly tolerated this oafish behavior for a chance to make some money selling handicrafts to the tourists.

Second, a variation on the oblivious tourist theme is Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad: Or the New Pilgrims' Progress* in which Twain lampooned nineteenth century Americans on the grand tour of Europe and the Holy Land. Of course, Twain's point was that Americans, with their new found wealth and imperial ambitions, were far from innocent. Twain mentioned the character of the "Oracle" several times and described him as someone who, "reads a chapter in the guide-books, mixes the facts all up with his bad memory, and then goes off to inflict the whole mess on somebody as wisdom which has been festering in his brain for years, and which he gathered in college from erudite authors who are dead, now, and out of print" (Twain 1869:70). Several times in the book the Oracle mistook famous landmarks, such as the "Pillows of Herkewls" [Pillars of Hercules]. In another scene, travelers sat on the boat's deck while it passed through the Straits of Messina, the mythical site of Scylla and Charybdis, when the Oracle appeared on the deck with a spy-glass, mentioning that he hoped to view all the

sites in the Bible. When informed of the correct location he replied, "'Scylla and Cha—confound it, I thought it was Sodom and Gomorrah!'" (Twain 1869:339).

The stereotype of ignorance has an element of irony because people often travel to gain knowledge and experience about the world. Travel is idealized, transforming it into a journey of personal edification, achieved through the traveler's genuine connection to places and culture. A fictionalized version of this heroic kind of travel was found in *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2005) in which a young Ernesto "Che" Guevara traveled around South America and formed his ideological convictions through contact with the beauty of the local place and cultures, and the disenfranchisement of the people.

Expedition narratives offer a variation on the theme of travel for personal gain, where being the first to summit peak X substitutes for issues of social justice. *Following the Conquistadores Along the Andes and Down the Amazon* (1911) mentioned in C\chapter one, falls into this category since the author's intension was to be one of the first modern travelers to retrace the route of the conquistadors.

There is one more variation of the heroic, cosmopolitan traveler: international travel to accumulate cultural capital. A 2007 *New York Times* article entitled "It Doesn't Have to Be All Business" quoted Patricia Martin, who wrote *Ren Gen: Renaissance*

Generation (2007), as saying, "'Cultural tourism can be an extension of business, it's not just fluff…'"Today, a person's knowledge is the new currency, and travel and cultural experiences are two of the most enlightening things they can do, enabling them to bring new information and insights into the workplace'" (McDonnel 2007:5). Also, in the book *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There* (2000) David Brooks sketched the new upper class using the term Bobo, which is short for bourgeois bohemians, since they occupy the position of a dominant class, but expressed it in new ways that harkens back to the counter culture of the 1950s-60s. In the chapter "Pleasure" Brooks examined the new social code of the Bobos in which pleasure must be useful not hedonistic. For Bobos, travel must accomplish something useful (spiritual growth, learning a new language, or building a school in the third world) and simultaneously distinguish them from other travelers because the real use of their travel lies in the cultural capital that they accrue for themselves. Brooks labeled them "travel snobs." "There are a certain number of sophisticated travelers who wear their past destination like little merit badges…the travel braggart begins slowly. Just a few sly hints about his vast cultural capital" (Brooks 2000:204).

However accurate Brooks' portrait, the need for the cosmopolitan traveler to acquire cultural capital is not particular to the dominant class of the late twentieth

century, as Twain observed, “We wish to learn all the curious, outlandish ways of all the different countries, so that we can ‘show off’ and astonish people when we get home. We wish to excite the envy of our untraveled friends with our strange foreign fashions which we can’t shake off” (Twain 1869:233).[22]

The inherent contradictions in these perspectives on the practices of tourist make the tourist concept fertile ground for a reflexive examination of perspective and knowledge production. First, they are perceived as blind and blundering, yet travel is idealized as a transformative personal journey, where a real connection to the place and culture can give the traveler insight into matters of social justice, make the traveler into a heroic explorer, or allow them to amass new cultural capital. Second, while the purpose of travel is to escape work and quotidian responsibilities, travel is supported by the work of others at all points along the journey. Finally, as the quotation that opened this chapter indicates, tourists themselves harbor negative impressions of tourists and this drives them to seek out places and experiences where they are the only tourists, thus making their travel closer to the ideal. This distancing is often accomplished by getting

[22] He also wrote, “But we love the Old Travelers…how they do brag, and sneer, and swell, and soar…they laugh unfeelingly at our treasured dreams of foreign lands; they brand the statements of your traveled aunts and uncles as the stupidest absurdities; they deride your most trusted authors and demolish the fair images they have set up for your willing worship with the pitiless ferocity of the fanatic iconoclast” (Twain 1869:111).

out of the traditional tourist trail. As “Nacho Libre” indicated, in Cusco this can be accomplished by visiting rural villages. While the author clearly defined himself as a tourist, he took pains to avoid them, feeling that his experience as the only tourist on the trail made it more authentic. Next, his trip was also authentic because he was able to be “humbled” by seeing “the tough conditions” in which the locals lived, which he then immediately softened with the image of happy, smiling kids who greeted the travelers. This is an image of picturesque filth. The triumph of his authentic trek to Machu Picchu, greeted by smiling local children, aestheticized the poverty the author noted and simultaneously validated his travel practices.

Related Scholarship: Unmaking Stereotypes

Given the assumed limitation of the tourist’s perspective, it is understandable that I initially rejected participation in that manner. Culture researchers are supposed to have a different perspective, one that accurately helps them to understand a culture, which is achieved ideally through a long residency and participation in all aspects of local life *as locals do*. Therefore, they must act differently than tourists if they wish to gain a different perspective. They must gain more knowledge than a tourist so, they must be able to distinguish between insiders and outsiders and “real” not touristy

events.[23] They must develop rapport with local informants so they can obtain information from the "inside" perspective.

I was inspired to think beyond these old assumptions of both the roles and the epistemological limitations of insider vs. outsider by numerous scholarly articles. Romero (2001a; 2001b) discussed his research in the Junín department in relation to his position as a culture researcher and as a Peruvian from Lima. Like Narayan (1993) and others, the ambivalence of his position as a "native" scholar highlighted how social positions are constructed and the power vested in those positions. Romero (2001b) criticized the ways that Western scholarship had marginalized "Third World" scholars who study within their own nation. "Native" scholars are assumed to be insiders in any situation, thus implicitly undermining their objectivity and, by extension, their authority as scholars. In criticizing the overly simplified binary of insiders and outsiders, Romero wrote:

> First, the distinction implies the false assumption that the countries of native scholars are ethnically and culturally homogeneous. Second, the separation between insiders and outsiders is essentialized in relation to national origins. "Insiders" are placed in an eternal and inescapable position

[23] Chapter two on Inti Raymi already demonstrated that this dichotomy between real local vs. made for tourists does not apply in Cusco because Inti Raymi was expressly created for both and has operated for more than sixty years as simultaneously a performance of local heritage and as a tourist attraction. Chapter six will discuss how local people view the trappings of tourism not as "touristy" or inauthentic, but rather as a different class of service which they often cannot afford to access.

> for life, destined to act as insiders just because they were born within the limits of the nation-states within which the community under study was located. (Romero 2001a:7)

This critique of essentialized notions of insider/outsider and the relationship between culture and place contributed significantly to the "reflexive turn" in anthropology and postmodern understandings of culture in relation to globalization. These critiques sought both to examine the practices and knowledge of scholars, and to more accurately reflect the ways in which people and cultures are fluid and heterogeneous, especially under conditions of globalization, which brings together people, culture and places in ever-changing variation. Very briefly, that scholarship includes: Clifford (1988)[24] questioned how ethnographic research methods contributed to scholarly authority; Marcus and Fischer (1986) continued the critique of representational practices in scholarship; Abu-Lughod (1991) discusses how in representational projects scholars must avoid using theories of culture as something complete, timeless, and insular; Gupta and Ferguson (1992) summarized assumptions about distinctiveness of a society through discontinuous spaces and culture, and suggested that new studies on hybridity, post-colonial identities, and diasporic communities offered new ways to understand culture; García Canclini (1995) argued

[24] Originally published in 1983 and collected with other essays in 1988 in *The Predicament of Culture*.

that Latin America possesses its own kind of modernity that is a hybrid of modernity and traditions reinvented for current conditions; Appadurai (1996) theorized that globalization can be seen in the world wide flows of people and media, which he describes in the 5 scapes: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, ideoscapes, and techoscapes. He argued that in this flow of media and people there is greater chance for people to use their imaginations and shape the media flows for their own agency; Bhabha (1996) developed the concept of "in-between" to understand cultures in diaspora, which illustrated how cultural identities are constructed and their relationship to power; finally, Clifford (1997) in the essay "Spatial Practices: Fieldwork, Travel, and the Discipline of Anthropology" looked at fieldwork as travel, displacement, and a form of temporary dwelling. These works and related studies had an immense impact on the fields of cultural research, such as ethnomusicology. As they say, you cannot un-ring a bell. Once you question the viability of a fixed definition of culture and the binary of insider vs. outsider for displaced people, you question it for all people. Once you question the realist approach to representation of culture through ethnography, you question all practices of knowledge production related to culture.

Analysis: Culture Researchers In-between

So what's a culture researcher to do when the subject and location of culture have slipped their mooring, and when the purpose of our scholarly research and writing is not to establish our authority or to seamlessly represent a people, place and culture through writing? We acknowledge "inbetween" subjects and fluid cultures, and our research and writing reflexively combine our research data with ourselves as researchers and how our questions and scholarly practices contribute to our conclusions. As Scheper-Hughes wrote:

> Cultural understanding is essentially produced, and not merely recovered. Ethnography is a very special kind of intellectual autobiography, a deeply personal record through which a whole view of the human condition, an entire sensibility is elaborated… And the knowledge that it yields must always be interpreted by us, by the particular kind of complex social, cultural and psychological self that we bring with us into the field. This "self" cannot be denied. It structures the questions we ask and filters what we see and hear as well as what we do not think to ask or fail to see and hear. (Scheper-Hughes 1999:450)

Given this scholarship, participating like a tourist became a viable option for a research method because it allowed to me explore several important questions. Do culture researchers and tourists understand a culture differently and if so, in what ways? Finally, why, if they have similar experiences, do they understand differently? I theorize that culture researchers do understand and experience culture differently than

tourists, but why? To answer this, I have drawn a conceptual map that demonstrates the areas in which Cusqueños (locals), tourists, and culture researchers blur.

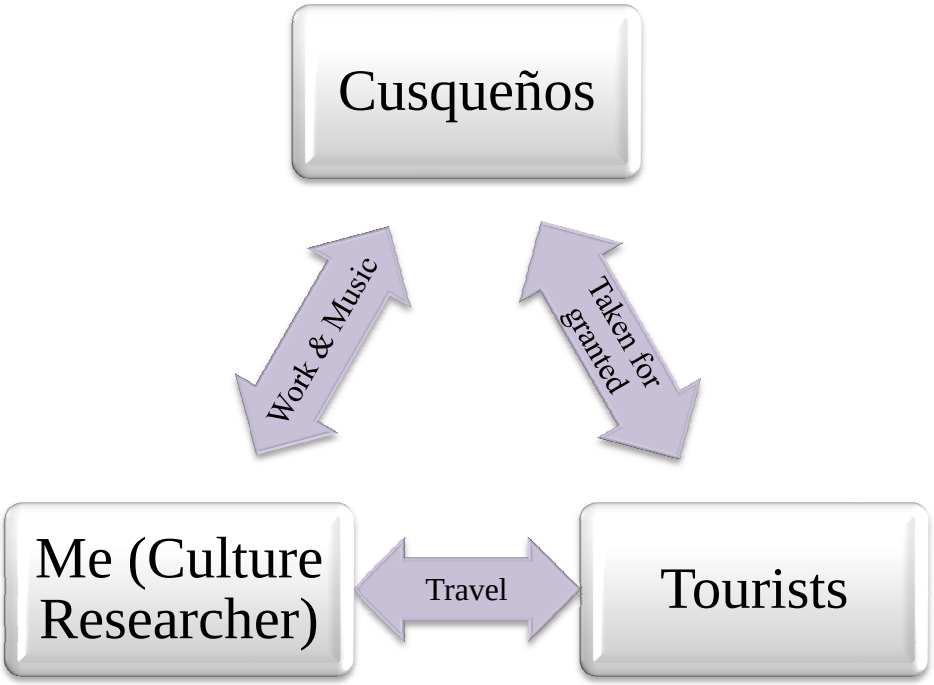

Figure 7. Representations of overlapping behavior and knowledge.

Previous discussion in this chapter already blured some distinctions between tourists and culture researchers. We both travel to other places, however, the culture researcher is supposed to act differently than the tourists in an effort to acquire knowledge. The culture researcher is supposed to participate in local life like a local as a method to understand the local culture. However, I altered the method of research to

participate in local life in a manner similar to people who constantly occupy the social space but are considered outsiders, the tourists. However, as I noted above, this does not mean that this dissertation is about the tourist perspective. My research has convinced my that most tourists and I do not share the same understanding of music and tourism in Cusco. I maintain that the other areas where positions blur may give the answer as to why. Those areas include issues of: work, music, and what is taken for granted. Examples of these areas come from the previous chapters of this dissertation.

First, concerning the issue of work, I noted earlier that while many tourists travel to escape work and quotidian responsibilities, their journey is facilitated at every step by the work of others. Like the bus drivers who drove the tourists and the guides who led them, at Inti Raymi and the other raymi festivals, I was working too. I sat in the audience with tourists, but I never felt free to just enjoy the performance. Instead, I concerned myself with recording the important aspects of the performance and simultaneously noting the conversations and behaviors of all the people present: local audience members, Peruvian national tourists, foreign tourists, travel industry workers, and vendors. This list further blurs the situation, as some Cusqueños enjoy Inti Raymi and the other raymis as audience members (in fact, they were the majority of the

audience at the other raymi performances), while other locals use the performance as an opportunity to work.

I also found myself to be more like Cusqueños than foreign tourists when it came to music. As noted in chapters two and three, there was a clear repertoire of music used at Inti Raymi and the other raymi performances. When I attended the performances I recognized the music and knew its socio-historical background. From listening to the conversations around me, it was very clear that Cusqueños also recognized this repertoire and could name titles and composers. In contrast, I never heard nor read online journals or blogs where a foreign tourist identified the music in that way. Instead, they typically recognize instruments and sounds as Andean or non-Western, and then use subjective terms to describe the character of the music or how the music makes them feel. I, too, have aesthetic preferences, but they are not something that I would consider relevant to my work.

Finally, I theorize that locals and tourists have something in common that I, as a culture researcher, do not share with them; that is, a portion of what they think, feel, do, know, and believe happen on the level of the "taken for granted." What I mean by this lies somewhere between: 1) the observation that people do not go through every second in a critical and reflexive mode for understanding themselves and the world around

them; they just live; and 2) a theoretical understanding similar to that of Bourdieu's concept of doxa, which refers to how "the natural and social world appears as self-evident" (Bourdieu 1977:167). During the performances, Cusqueños, whether their audience or performer, do not question how that music came to be or the social implications of its creation and subsequent performances. Also, tourists, tour guides, and others working in tourism usually take for granted the existence of tourism. Neither the social and historical contexts from which it emerged nor implications of the complex social interactions that it generates are in the foreground of their experiences. On the other hand, when conducting fieldwork, I take nothing for granted and instead tend to foreground critical understanding of everyday events. I believe that it is the distinction between the critical and the taken-for-granted interpretation of events that causes culture researchers and tourists to understand culture differently. However, this way of experiencing the world is not inevitable. For example, as mentioned in chapter two, Magelssen (2006) theorized that making history in the "second person" could open areas for dialog between performers and tourists about the past.

In fact, because tourism often generates instances of cultural and personal interaction, it has the potential for moments of friction (when the taken-for-granted stops), questioning, and dialog. Kaspin (1997) noted one example that was based on her

own experience working as an anthropologist on a Yale alumni tour. She narrated an episode in which a local guide interrupted to dispute her lecture on the constructed and fluid nature of identities, including the tribal identities in Kenya. In that moment, Kaspin chose not to assert her view or her authority, feeling that it would break a rule of fieldwork to "offend your host…So I remained silent, figuring that the worst anyone could say was that I had spoken the truth when I said I was no expert on East Africa. In any case, it was abundantly clear that this anthropologist was not giving voice to this African" (Kaspin 1997:56). She closed the essay with the following thought:

> Still, I do not know how to pose anthropological questions and to deconstruct the myth motifs that shape our worldviews, including those found in the movies about Africa that Americans like to watch and those found in the postcards of Africa that Kenyans make and market. But while representations are fair game for interpretation, deconstructing the representations of a locality is a risky enterprise in that locality, whatever their cultural origin. This does not diminish the value of the interpretation, but underscores the fact that anthropological understandings are not the same things as local understandings" (Kaspin 1997:57).

In this case described by Kaspin the different understandings were not generated by a critical vs. taken for granted perspective because clearly the African tour guide was expressing a critical opinion about both his own cultural identity and academic interpretations of that identity.

Conclusions

This chapter's focus was to explain the method of fieldwork for this dissertation. That method was inspired by both pragmatic considerations and a theoretical perspective that sought to reflect on that method. Such a reflexive stance places culture researchers, such as ethnomusicologists, in-between two groups that form an important part of the social landscape of Cusco, local Cusqueños and tourists. I concluded that, though I participated in Inti Raymi and other raymi festivals like a tourist, I had a different perspective on music and tourism than tourists. However, this is by no means pre-determined and unchangeable. Kaspin (1997) and Magelssen (2006) both pointed to the possibility of moments of critical evaluation and dialog. The next chapter, on Traveling Cusqueño adds another layer to the discussion of music and tourism by exploring an example of a context when Cusqueños travel to the pilgrimage of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i (Lord of the Snow Star) and what that pilgrimage reveals about Cusqueños' idea of travel.

Chapter Five

Traveling Cusqueños: Señor de Qoyllur rit'i Pilgrimage

When conducting research over a relatively long period of time, unplanned opportunities often appear. Though never imagined in the initial planning, once experienced they inform all other parts of the research. Traveling with a dance group to the pilgrimage of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i (Lord of the Snow Star) in 2006 was such an experience for me. My husband, Jimmi, was invited to dance with the *Qhapaq Qollas* group that represented the community of Huankarkui. He was invited by his best friend Roberto "Chale"[25], who had been dancing with the group for several years. Huankarkui is a very small village just across a stream from Yaurisque (a town with its own separate dance group and also the hometown of my husband's mother Viginia) in the province of Paruro. The *mayordomos* (sponsors) of the Huankarkui group in 2006 came from a rural community just above Huankarkui called Markahuay. The Huankarkui group included people from the village, people who lived in Cusco, and people who often divided their

[25] In this chapter I use only the first names of dancers to protect their privacy, since, unlike the directors of Filigranas Peruanas, they are not public figures in Cusco.

time between the village and the city of Cusco to obtain more work opportunities for themselves and better schooling for their children.

Being able to travel with this group turned into an unexpected opportunity because, while conducting background research on travel in Cusco, I began to consider ways that would give a balanced perspective to travel rather than adopting the more conventional notion that in Cusco the foreigners were the travelers. Pratt (1992) and Clifford (1997) observed that writings about travel often privilege the journeys of certain people, such as western leisure travelers and their accompanying discourse (guides, journals, letters, etc) because their travel was seen as admirable: "heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, enobeling" (Clifford 1997: 31). Other travel and travelers that relate to work (travelers' servants, porters, conductors, flight attendants, migrant laborers, etc.) or political displacement (refugees) are ignored or not considered travelers. The pilgrimage to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i offered a perfect example of both a traditional role for musicians and also how Cusqueños themselves travel and imagine travel. However, even in what is still a very traditional event structured by religious belief, issues of culture as a resource and the prestige of patrimony still influenced the music and dance.

Background

The annual Catholic pilgrimage to the church and shrine for Señor de Qoyllur rit'i takes place in either late May or early June depending on the dates for Easter and Corpus Christi. Every year tens of thousands of pilgrims (and some tourists) begin in the town of Ocongate, which is located in the province of Quispichanchi in the Department of Cusco. To reach the traditional starting point of the pilgrimage, it can take between 8-12 hours to travel to Ocongate from the city of Cusco, depending on whether the travel is by day or night, whether by bus or truck, and the amount of traffic. From Ocongate, travelers ascend up a nearby valley to the shrine, which is situated just below a glacier and at the base of the mountain Ausangate.

Both before and following the Spanish conquest, Ausangate was regarded as an important site of a powerful *apu* (mountain spirit or deity). Consequently, religious offerings and journeys were made there, pre-dating and during the colonial era. During the late eighteenth century it became known as a place associated with Catholic beliefs. According to Sallnow (1991) around 1780 a local shepherd boy named Mariano encountered a vision of a *mestizo* boy while herding his flock in a high pasture. After sharing his food with the *mestizo* boy, the flock greatly increased. Mariano told this story to his father. Somehow it was revealed that the *mestizo* boy was wearing a tattered

set of clothes made from canonical cloth, making it a religious apparition rather than just the imaginary friend of a boy. A few years later, local church authorities sent a priest to investigate this claim. Near a rock, the priest saw the *mestizo* boy with Mariano. After trying to grab the *mestizo* boy, the priest saw that he had turned into an image of the crucified Christ. At the sight of his friend suffering, Mariano died and was buried under the nearby rock. Today the rock has a rock painting of the image of Christ on the cross and is housed within a shrine. Attached to the shrine is a small church. In the nearby village of Ocongate there is a replica of the Christ crucified on a local tree, known as Señor de Tayankani (Sallnow 1991:283-5).

While journeys to make religious offerings to Ausangate pre-date the colonial era, Sallnow noted that pilgrimage to the Señor de Qoyllur rit'i greatly increased in the 1930s when the road from Cusco to Ocongate was completed, and this increase led to the formation of a lay brotherhood (*hermandad de Señor de Qoyllur rit'i*) to organize the pilgrimage and to care for the shrine (Sallnow 1991:285-6). Organization is divided along provincial lines that include: Cusco, Chumbivilcas, Paruro, Paucartambo, Quispichanchi, and Urubamba (which all belong to the Department of Cusco). They are referred to as *naciones* (nations), for example *Nacíon Paruro.* Today, the brotherhood is

staffed by *celadores* (wardens), who rotate duties during the pilgrimage and organize within their provinces.

Today, the church and shrine are reached by several routes, with the main trail leaving from Ocongate. Most travelers arrive there by bus or truck. At a staging area they hire mules if they have supplies (mainly food and cooking supplies) to transport. From there they begin the eight kilometer walk that climbs over 1000 meters, stopping at shrines marked by a cross at every kilometer.

While thousands of individuals independently visit the shrine, the Señor de Qoyllur rit'i pilgrimage is distinguished by the hundreds of groups who travel there to dance their devotion: the sponsors, the dancers, the musicians, and the extended family of the sponsors and/or dancers who support the dancers. The dances represented at Señor de Qoyllur rit'i are the same ones performed throughout the department at patron saint festivals (see Mendoza 2000) and include: *Qhapaq Qollas* (who represent llama herders); *Chunchus* (who represent warriors from the rainforest region); *Contradanza* (who represent European contra dancers); and *Awqa Chileno* (who represent Chilean soldiers from the 19th century War of the Pacific). The dance groups all also include members who dance as *ukukus* (bears) who are both comic and authoritative; their

costumes include a leather whip that they use when members exhibit inappropriate behavior, such as laziness, foul language, etc.

The Dancers and the Musicians: Traditional Roles, Traditional Music

Because I had not planned to travel to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i as part of my dissertation research and because I knew none of the group's members, other than my husband's friend Chale and Chale's brother Raul, I missed many critical events that made up the planning and the ritual observations for the pilgrimage. For example, sponsors are often selected a year or up to several years in advance. At this point they begin saving for the *cargo* (responsibility for planning and paying) and mobilizing social networks to help fulfill their responsibilities, which include hiring and paying for musicians as well a logistics such as food and transportation. I also missed key parts of the religious observations. For example, at the end on the pilgrimage, a small copy of the image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i is passed in a ceremony to the new sponsors. Luckily, there has been some very detailed research about patron saint festival and pilgrimage sponsorship, see for example de la Cadena (2000); Mendoza (2000); and Wissler (1999). Because the topic has been covered in some depth for the Cusco region and because of the limits of my personal interactions with the group, I will limit my observations to the week before the pilgrimage when the group practiced, and the

pilgrimage itself, which took place June 11-13, 2006. Therefore, this is not a representation of the complete process of pilgrimage. Rather it focuses on the travel itself and the preparations immediately before the journey. In my observations two key points emerged: first was the surprisingly traditional nature of the journey, the rituals, and the musical and dance repertoire; second, the very distinct roles that separated musicians from dancers.

I first observed the group practicing on May 28, 2006. The rehearsal was in the courtyard in the home of one of the dancers who lived in a neighborhood of Santiago called La Estrella (the star). It was a few blocks from the neighborhood where my an evening, dancers filed in and received a mug of *té macho* (tea with a shot of alcohol) and soup from the group of women running the kitchen, who would also travel with the group to support them by preparing meals. Three musicians set up on the side of the courtyard: a *quena* player, a drummer and an accordion player. Other people like me sat in chairs and on benches along the walls of the courtyard to watch the rehearsal.

Dance groups like this choose one member who has participated in the group for a number of years to lead the group in rehearsals and in the pilgrimage. This leader is called the *Caporal.* Raymundo was the *Caporal* in 2006. Raymundo worked as a shoe shiner on the Avenida del Sol. While this is generally not a high status job in Cusco,

Raymundo belonged to a union of shoe shiners. This allowed him to work in a prime spot. The association with the union also raised his professional position. It is also notable that during the pilgrimage, he sacrificed four day's wages in order to participate. Caporal was not a paid position. He sacrificed much needed income in order to travel to express his devotion.

The practice officially began around 9pm that night when the *Caporal* lined the dancers up into two lines. Except for three young women who danced the part of the *imillas*, the rest of the dancers were men in their 20s-late 40s. When the dancers lined up the musicians, who had stood apart, took up their instruments. Besides the cousins and friends of my husband, I met one dancer often after the pilgrimage. Percy worked part time in a small sneaker kiosk at a large market in Cusco called La Molina. When I asked about plans for the future, he mentioned aspirations to travel to some place like New York City or Spain to find better opportunities for work. Percy also had views on pilgrimage as a form of travel that are worth noting. I asked many members of the group if our travel had been tourism. All, except Percy, said no because our travel was purely out of religious devotion. While mentioning the religious aspect, Percy thought that we might have also been doing something like tourism, since we had traveled to another place to interact with new people.

Also present at the rehearsal was Pablo who is a member of the Hermandad del Señor de Qoyllur rit'i, a *celedor*. He lived in the neighborhood. At the rehearsals, he often led the dancers in a role similar to the *caporal*. At the shrine, I was able to talk to him about his position as a *celedor*. It is a highly respected position that one can only attain through years of religious devotion, both locally and on pilgrimages. It is also a position with numerous responsibilities. *Celedores* are held to the highest standard of conduct at the pilgrimage. They ensure the integrity of the event by carefully organizing the participation of hundreds of dance groups as well as round the clock access to the church and shrine by the thousands of independent pilgrims who pray and make offerings at the shrine during a three day period.

Even though this was a rehearsal, it was by no means informal or light-hearted. Even practice within this context had the tone of a religious observance. The image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i was placed on a table at one end of the courtyard and surrounded by candles and flowers. During rehearsals dancers faced this image and venerated it during the dance by kneeling. To participate in the group, dancers were expected to uphold a certain standard of behavior that expressed their sincere religious devotion. During rehearsals there were constant reminders and reprimands about behavior and attitude.

The performing part of the practice began with a group prayer to the image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. Then, without any verbal directions or explanation, they launched into their program, running through each section approximately twice without a pause. The *Caporal* alternated from performing his part to giving instruction. This was done one on one as the music was too loud to make general comments. A few times he used his whip, which is traditionally part of the *Qolla* costume, to lightly whip a member on the leg who was not performing correctly. Members learned the dance steps and the melody and lyrics to the songs they sang by copying older members and through repetition. There were no written parts and for the dancers, the music and dance were never practiced separately.

The songs and dance music that this group and their hired musicians performed was the same repertoire used by *Qolla* groups across the region. Unlike the large brass bands that accompany groups like the *Majeños* (see Mendoza 2000), the music groups that accompany *Qollas* are typically small in size, from 3-6 musicians typically. And though the instrumentation can vary is usually includes an accordion playing both melody and some harmony (though harmony is never the musical focus), melody instrument(s) such as *quenas* or violins (sometimes both are used), and finally percussion played by a bass drum or *bombo* and sometimes also a snare drum.

Like the dancers, during the rehearsals verbal directions, imitation and repetition were used frequently by the musicians as well. During the first break the *quena* player seemed to be having difficulty with his instrument. After a few minutes they brought a new one, again narrow gold colored metal. The band worked together a little on getting the melodies right, but mainly they discussed rhythm and tempo. The drummer seemed young and may have been new to the group. Chale tried to show him the right rhythm and tempo, but this did not meet with general approval from the group. The *quena* player stepped in and played with the accordion. His interpretation, which was slightly faster, more varied, and included the wood block, was generally approved. "That's it." "Like that." The *Caporal* told the young drummer to work harder and he nodded. Then the musicians asked which section they wanted to practice. That decided, they began to play, generally better than before, or at least some of the notes of the melody were better articulated on the *quena*. Again they danced their routine without pause. Later I found out that the drummer was only filling in because the drummer who had been hired was not able to attend that rehearsal.

Rehearsals over, the next phase of the pilgrimage involved traveling to Huankarkui, Markahuai, and Yaurisque for the dancers to present themselves to the village, to receive the blessing of the local priest, and for the sponsors to collect

supplies promised to them from friends and relatives who supported their *cargo.* Around two in the afternoon the dancers, the musicians, and their supporters, including me, boarded a cargo truck to travel first to the home of the sponsors in Markahuai. Like the rehearsals in the courtyard a week earlier, a table with candles and flowers was set up in a prominent place for the image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. The dancers formed two lines with the musicians off to one side and performed their set of songs and dances, just as they had done in practice. Next the dancers and musicians walked down to Huankarkui (I rode in the truck) and were invited to eat dinner. Next they walked across the bridge to Yaurisque because the church is located there. Another dance group from the area was already in the church, so the Huankarkui group had to wait their turn to perform a section of their routine in the church. When the two groups passed each other, the respective sponsors were each carrying images of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. The sponsors shook hands and the dancers kissed the image of the other group's sponsor as a sign of respect. After the church, the dancers, musicians, and supporters returned to the home of the sponsors to sleep, while I stayed in Yaruisque at my sister-in-law Roxana's house. The opinion of the group was that, as a foreigner, I would be uncomfortable and perhaps catch cold sleeping under a roof, but on the ground with the group.

The next morning the group returned to Yaurisque for a mass and a procession of all the local dance groups from the *Nación de Paruro*. In the morning the group walked down from Marcahuay in their costumes to hear a mass in Yaurisque for all the groups assembled for the procession. The mass stared at 11am and the group was the last to arrive so they spent most of the mass outside. Other troupes were inside the church and one group of *Qollas* sang during the mass. During the mass the priest said that pilgrimage was not about having fun, but about contemplative walking. Near the end of the mass he whipped one *Qollas* for behaving badly. This must have occurred at an earlier time because he didn't behave badly during the mass. The priest also criticized the *comparzas* (dance groups') members because almost no one came to confess.

After the mass, all the *comparzas* backed out of the church (turning one's back to the image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i is considered disrespectful) and lined up for the procession. The group from Huankarkui was last because they arrived last to the mass. The procession included the groups from the area of Yaurisque and also some from Paruro. While groups have always met for a mass before going to Qoyllur rit'i, the procession began in 2004. This year they went from the church, up the main street to the bus stop and the park on the main road to Cusco.

At the end of the procession, they returned to the church and each dance group went its separate way. Before returning to Cusco, the group from Huankarkui had several *pedidas* (pleas) to make, in which a family receives the group, the group dances, eats, and the family gives something to the sponsor, like potatoes, to help with the *cargo*. At one stop the group had a meeting to elect a new board of directors. This was a very drawn out process because no member wanted to appear to seek office only for personal power, so most of the voting consisted of polite declining followed by the group convincing the person that they were needed. Finally, the group returned to Cusco by cargo truck to gather their belongings for the overnight trip to Ocongate. The dancers, musicians, supporters (including me), and all our gear and supplies were piled into a cargo truck. The ride was long and uncomfortable, but not cold because I wore a ton of clothes and had a blanket. Someone would call out for music and the musicians had to oblige.

During the journey to Qoyllur rit'i it became clear to me that the musicians were not part of the group. They were paid employees who had to be prepared to play at any time, morning or night. They were served the same food, slept in the same place, but kept to themselves. They did not need to ask the *caporal* for permission like the dancers, nor did they receive any advice or reprimands about their behavior. In

behaving this way, the dancers and musicians were simply following traditional roles. Musicians traditionally are hired to play specific events, such as the pilgrimage, patron saint festivals, folk festivals, weddings, and funerals. The group or *comparsa* is formed by the dance members. Every year the sponsorship shifts to another member of the community who is responsible for hiring musicians. If the sponsors fail to raise enough money to hire the musicians or if they hire inadequate musicians, then the dance group and the community will complain that the sponsor did not fulfill their obligation. In this case, there were no complaints about the musicians.

We arrived in Ocongate early in the morning of June 11, 2006. It took four hours from arrival to the beginning of the climb up the trail to find mules, negotiate the price and raise funds among the dancers, and load up the food, cooking supplies, and bedding. Some gear was also carried by the *Ukukus*. Since they would be playing as we walked up the trail, the musicians carried only their instruments. Hundreds of people and horses were walking up and down the trail. To the left, on the other side of the valley, was another trail with people also walking up to the shrine. On the trail there were eight crosses, one about every kilometer. Each *comparsa* stopped to venerate each cross with music, the same music each time. Also, at each cross there were tarps set up

for people selling soda and snacks. At the fourth cross the group rested a little and ate a light snack.

After three hours of walking, and stopping at each of the eight crosses to venerate it with a brief song, the group arrived at the end of the trail, which was marked by two crosses. It began to hail at that moment, so the dancers and musicians rushed to their group's traditional campsite reserved for them each year as part of their membership in the *Nación Paruro,* which is organized by the *Hermandad del* Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. My husband and I set up our tent a few thousand yards away in an area designated for travelers not part of *naciones.* The group's site was very close to the church and marked off from the site of other groups by a low stone wall. The area was too small for individual tents, so the group used blankets and large blue plastic tarps to protect themselves from the rain, which lasted most of the afternoon and night. I rode out the weather in my tent, knowing what dampness and high altitude can do to your health, but the group danced through the afternoon and the night in the large plaza surrounding the church.

The hundreds of other dance groups camped in the valley around the church and shrine performed through the night as well. I will never forget the sounds: bass drums, trumpets and saxophones echoing across the valley. Groups of dancers passing by with

their musicians, fireworks, people shouting to find their camp and *comparsa*. Different music was overlapping all night with thousands of dancers in costume performing throughout the night.

The next morning, June 12th, the *Nación Paruro* held its organizational meeting fifty yards from my tent. Here each groups' leaders and *caporals* met with representatives from *Hermandad del* Señor de Qoyllur rit'i to go over the schedule for performing in the church itself, for the procession, and for the trip up to the glacier, which concludes the main activities for the pilgrimage. It was fascinating to hear how tightly controlled the events were because so much simultaneous overlapping dancing, music, fireworks, sleeping, praying, etc. had given me the impression of "controlled chaos." In reality, there was nothing chaotic about the performances. The brotherhood and the provincial groups controlled who moved where and when.

Figure 8. Parade of dance groups from Paruro at Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. Photo by the author. All rights reserved.

That afternoon the groups from Paruro formed a procession that moved within the valley on the side of the church. The audience for the procession consisted of the pilgrims and groups from other provinces. I saw people filming and taking photos with all kinds of cameras, large and small. With so many groups in the procession it was like bottleneck traffic. The beginning moves a little and it takes a few minutes for that movement to reach you. You advance a little and then wait more. Most of the time the

group danced their side to side dance and the *matachs* tried to liven things up. The musicians played only two melodies almost constantly.

After eating dinner with the group around 8pm I waited in line for about an hour to enter the rock shrine. Waiting in line, people passed by selling candles and hot chocolate. The path that zigzagged up to the shrine was illuminated with candles and flanked by people praying over their candles. It was a moving experience, though brief. I entered a small room and on the left was a glass window adorned with plastic and silk flowers. I knelt at the window and inside was the rock where the apparition of El Señor appeared. Quickly someone blessed me and asked me to move on. I offered a donation and was given a card with the image of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i from the *Hermandad del* Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. As I left the room, another person dipped silk flowers into a vat of presumably holy water and blessed me with the water as I left the room.

On the morning of June 13th, all the dance groups rose very early, around 3 am to ascend to the glacier at the top of the valley. This is a sacred part of the pilgrimage, since the ice is considered holy, but it is also the most dangerous part of the pilgrimage. Every year participants are injured or killed by falling into a crevasse or by falling ice or rocks. In 2006 a man from the Paruro province who lived in Cusco died when a rock fell on his head.

The comparsa returned around 7:30 am. They descended from the glacier as part of their *nación.* From other places around the valley lines of the other *naciónes* descended; you could hear their music and see them dancing. It really impressed me that despite the cold, fatigue, and difficult terrain they continued dancing and playing music.

Later in the morning there was a huge outdoor mass. This is the main public benediction, and many people had arrived the night before and that morning just for the mass. There were hundreds of *comparzas* at Señor de Qoyllur rit'i and as the days went on the number of tents grew and grew, but it also seemed like there were a large number of "daytrippers" who stayed briefly to visit the church or hear the mass, and then descended on the same day. On the way up I heard a woman comment about the people descending on Sunday morning: "They don't have time for the lord." I also saw tourists, mainly in small groups, usually 2-3, but a few of 5-10. They had private guides. On Monday morning I saw what looked like a tourist camp up and to the right of the tents. I assumed that they were tourists because of the 4-5 identical, expensive tents. I also saw a group of mountaineers with their gear descending from the glacier.

After the mass the group from Huankarkui packed their gear and descended. They rode in a cargo truck home and I heard from Chale, that after the sober religious

tone of the pilgrimage and the danger of the glacier ascent, the group celebrated together. My husband and I took a different bus home, hoping to avoid the traffic in Ocongate.

“Playing”

From the times they danced in the church and in the procession to their behavior while waiting to dance, most of the activities of the dance group were tightly organized by their group's leaders, their *nacíon,* and the lay brotherhood. They were also expected to exhibit a serious demeanor in reflection of the religious character of the occasion and their devotion to Señor de Qoyllur rit’i. There was, however, one aspect of the pilgrimage where a more relaxed atmosphere prevailed. Around 1000 meters from the church was the area for *jugando* (playing). In this informal ritual, people expressed their hopes and needs to Señor de Qoyllur rit’i by acting them out. People were play married and baptized for free by play priests. However, most of the action involved buying what you hoped for the future.

Figure 9. Jugando/Playing at Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. Photo by the Author. All rights reserved.

My husband and I, along with some of the dancers, went to play during a break on the second day of the pilgrimage. We used real Peruvian currency (*soles*) to buy money with which to play. This play money was mainly photocopies of U.S currency. A few *soles* bought us thousands of play dollars. The most prominent offerings were homes, businesses, and land, all represented by rocks carefully arranged by the sales people. Being at the foot of a receding glacier, there were abundant piles of scree with which anyone could open a business selling play homes to the pilgrims.

My husband and I purchased an ample building lot with our play dollars, but only after play haggling with the seller. We also received a play deed to the property, which we had to play notarize for a small fee. A man who played at a lay priest came by and for a small fee of play dollars blessed our lot with singing, "holy" water, and prayer.

Other items for sale included plastic cars and trucks for people who hoped to become independent taxi and truck drivers. There were also small plastic babies for people who hoped to become pregnant. Finally, there were documents to buy that included play diplomas and play visas, passports, and plane tickets to the United States and Europe. Sellers told me that people who buy the passports and visas do so because they hope to travel to the United States or Europe to work. To me this revealed a critical point as to how Cusqueños act out and imagine travel. They make a pilgrimage in order to ask for divine intervention so that they may travel to a foreign country to increase their economic opportunities. In neither case, was travel imagined in terms of leisure. As Chapters one and two indicated, when Cusqueños thought of leisure travel, it was part of an effort to bring hard currency into the economy and to generate jobs for Cusqueños. Whether imagined or real, travel in Cusco has been understood in terms of economic opportunities.

Pilgrimage as Cultural Patrimony

As noted in Chapter one, the issue of culture as a resource matters because it transforms the meaning, the value, the context, and the content of cultural expressions, as well as the participants who have a stake in cultural expressions. Cultural expressions can like theories, be said to "travel."[26] In the case of the pilgrimage to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i has the site and the pilgrimage's designation of National Cultural Patrimony structured the space in which dancers and musicians participate, and has the meaning or the context of the cultural and religious expression "traveled"?

In 2004 the pilgrimage of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i and the site of the church and shrine were declared National Cultural Patrimony by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) (http://www.inc.gob.pe/serv8.shtml). Unlike the 2006 performance of Inti Raymi, the status of patrimony did not heighten interest in preservation efforts. Therefore, the human impact on the site was not an issue and consequently there were not prohibitions on vendors and camping. The selling of alcohol has traditionally been banned at Señor de Qoyllur rit'i because of the religious nature of the event. The Hermandad del Señor de Qoyllur rit'i and the *naciones* regulated camping for the dance groups, but pilgrims, tourists, and others were allowed to camp and cook where they could find open space.

[26] See Hale (1997) for a discussion on how the term multi-cultureless has traveled in Guatemala.

In 2006, I observed that the local religious and cultural organizations set the structure for the cultural expressions rather than national or international cultural institutions, as was the case for the use of Sacsayhuaman for Inti Raymi.

These local religious and cultural stakeholders also involved themselves with issues related to the preservation of the site of the pilgrimage. On March 5, 2007, hundreds of musicians, dancers, members of the lay brotherhood, and other pilgrims marched through the streets of the city of Cusco demanding that the INC declare the land around the church and shrine a protected zone (Achahui Tapia 2008). By involving themselves, they hoped to both preserve their rights to continue the pilgrimage as traditionally performed with thousands of dance groups and independent pilgrims, while at the same time protecting the land around the church and shrine from development. The march was successful; the INC declared several hundred hectares as a protected zone. Given the INC's past interventions into the cultural events, such as Inti Raymi, it remains unclear what this protection has gained the participants. What has changed is that a new stakeholder has become more deeply involved with the pilgrimage.

Sometimes control is more evident in what may *not* be seen. In 2008, the newspaper *Sol del Cusco* reported that the Hermandad del Señor de Qoyllur rit'i had agreed to limit the dances performed at the pilgrimage to only these dances traditional

to the Cusco region because Señor de Qoyllur rit'i was cultural patrimony ("Danzas de Otros Lugares…" 2008). Therefore, dances typical of the Arequipa or Puno regions would no longer be permitted. The president of the association of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i said, "If they wish to continue with their dances like in the case of Puno, the music must be in accord with our culture; we would like them to use wind instruments so that they cannot distort our culture" ("Danzas de Otros Lugares…" 2008). It is interesting that music, rather than choreography or costumes, was singled out as key to maintaining or distorting culture. Groups from the department of Cusco have played a variety of instruments including violins, harps, and accordions. However, there have been ongoing debate about whether large groups of saxophones and/or brass instruments should be allowed because their significantly louder volume can disrupt the music of other groups. Further, dance groups from those neighboring regions have participated in the Señor de Qoyllur rit'i pilgrimage for many years, often performing dances from their own regions. However, in 2009 they may have to perform the cultural expressions of another region in order to be allowed to participate. All this demonstrates that the status of cultural patrimony, in this case, created a distinct and perhaps rigid definition of acceptable regional music practices (this despite a history that included more variety in

music and dance) and gave a cultural-religious organization the power to interpret and enforce that standard.

Conclusions

In the discussion of culture as a resource, the example of the Señor de Qoyllur rit'i pilgrimage offers several interesting facets. First, at only one point did economic opportunities become an overt issue. While "playing," participants bought passports and visas so that they could travel to the United States or to the European Union in order to find better jobs. They also bought housing lots, homes, and buses and trucks for their work. Because "playing" is a way for pilgrims to communicate the hopes and needs to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i so that he might intervene, it gives a glimpse into the economic struggles and desires of participants. It also reveals that while traditional travels by Cusqueños as a part of religious observances continue, today many also imagine travel as one of the few opportunities open to them to expand their economic opportunities.

Unlike other Raymi festivals, no one that I met or observed openly viewed Señor de Qoyllur rit'i itself as an economic opportunity, though there were in fact many people who profited by renting mules, preparing food, and selling religious objects. The cultural and religious aspects were overwhelmingly the focus.

Is the pilgrimage to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i a tourist event? The answer depends on how one looks at the situation. Certainly there were tourists at the event and a survey of travel guides and the internet's numerous travel blogs and travel companies describing their trips to the Señor de Qoyllur rit'i pilgrimage demonstrates that the pilgrimage is fully incorporated into the sites and activities that make up the tourist circuit in Peru. But is this discourse and the practices of a few hundred tourists and guides each year enough to transform the event into tourism?

I argue that in this case the discourses of travelers and travel professionals has not transformed the event into a tourist site, and theorize this might be due to two reasons: first, in their actions and discourse local religious and cultural participants define the events in traditional cultural and religious terms as patrimony; second, in their discourse the self-described tourists also defined the pilgrimage to Señor de Qoyllur rit'i as a non-touristy event, as both a representation of their personal experiences and as an effort to preserve the value of those experiences.

Chapter Six

Dinner and a Show: The Limits of "Touristy"

> The real challenge of this trip so far has not been the language barrier, but the environment. However beautiful this place may be, it is much polluted…It also gets frustrating having to drink bottled water here all the time knowing there is no recycling. Sometimes navigating the crowded Plaza de Armas can be a challenge due to the endless young women trying to seduce you into.. going into their club or restaurant with promises of…free drinks. They actually physically press up against you and gently push you toward the door, not as exciting as it might sound.
>
> --From the online travel journal of Joseph Scanion (2005)

Pervious chapters of this dissertation examined music and travel in the contexts of raymi festivals and a pilgrimage. There are, however, many other contexts of music and travel in Cusco. This chapter considers some other areas that are more obviously commercialized for tourists: tourist restaurants and nightclubs. As the quote above illustrates, restaurants and nightclubs in Cusco represent significant points of cultural contact, sometimes literally. Out of the thousands of travel journals online, the one written by Joseph Scanion during his 2005 stay in Cusco caught my attention for several

reasons. Like me he worked in education and spent time in Cusco learning Spanish. His journal entries were also particularly well written and interesting because of the detailed descriptions of his experiences, as well as the reflective tone found in some entries. The passage above no doubt resonates with many travelers who clearly enjoy their experiences despite inconveniences unknown in their own countries. The juxtaposition between beauty and pollution and young women and restaurant promotions is striking. It is another iteration of picturesque filth and demonstrates how tourism is both awful and wonderful in the way that it both gives opportunities to some and simultaneously reveals the desperate needs of others.

This chapter discusses another side of music and tourism in Cusco: dinner musical shows, nightclubs, and the commercialization of CDs and musical instruments in souvenir shops. These venues provide steady work for some musicians and store owners, and "informal" economic opportunities to young people hoping to work for a better life. Dinner musical shows demonstrate another new performance context created by tourism and bring to the forefront issues of authenticity and cultural change due to tourism.

Background Scholarship

There are several scholarly studies on music and dance performances for tourist audiences in restaurants that reveal: power relationships, cultural contact zones, and finally cultural constructions of bodily practices, cultural identities, and gender. In a study critical of enclave tourism in Bali, Shaw and Shaw (1999) condemned isolated, all-inclusive resorts as "concentration camps of leisure" because resorts attempted to maximize profits by keeping guests from leaving the property with suggestions of danger or scams from the local population. To satisfy guests' interests in local culture, the resorts brought in cultural entertainment, often in the form of a dinner show. The authors described it thus,

> These events are fostered to provide a different attraction each evening, corresponding to the schedule of the typical short-stay tourist. Thus the week might begin with a Balinese inspired 'Rijsttafel and Legong Dance', and include a 'Pasar Malam authentic Balinese night market with Indonesian and Western food', but local themes rapidly give way to 'Dine around the World', 'Country and Western Evening' and the 'Live Fashion Show with delicious Mediterranean buffet'. Through such eclecticism the concentration camp of leisure assumes a bland cosmopolitanism, where ersatz reigns supreme and Balinese culture is sanitized for popular consumption along with international cuisine, and washed down with imported beverages. (Shaw and Shaw 1999: 8)

The article went on to describe how tour guides and souvenir shop owners steer tourists to certain craft centers strategically placed within walking distance of historical and cultural sites. In an attempt to concentrate tourists' spending in the hands of a few resorts, guides, and store owners, local people and informal ambulant vendors seeking economic opportunities or a chance to represent their culture on their own terms were literally pushed to the margins at the end of a beach or the side of a road.

Focusing on Hula shows and luaus in Hawaii, Desmond (1999) explored how that particular context of performance both reinforced imagined cultural difference and made culture accessible to tourists for contact and consumption. Representations of culture and embodied actions blurred, as "the performers become signs of what the audience believes them to be" (Desmond 1999: xx). Desmond highlighted the fact that dinner shows are socially sanctioned venues where tourists can experience and consume other cultures under the guise of entertainment without fear that their presence is unwelcomed or harmful. She asserted that this is possible because the performances display a narrow slice of culture while ignoring all the social, political, and economic facts that made the cultural contact possible in the first place. She wrote, "Spectacle---an emphasis on sights, sounds, and motion---replaces narrative, and with it the possibility of historical reflection. The social, political, and economic histories which

brought performers and spectators together in the same space are either entirely absent, re-presented as nostalgia, or recorded as cultural or natural conservation" (Desmond 1999: xvi). Because it ignores history and economic relationships, the appreciation of culture in tourism has a less than politically liberating outcome. "While seeming to celebrate cultural difference or the natural world, this paradigm dehistoricizes certain people, practices, geographic regions, and their animal inhabitant, setting them up as avatars of unchanging innocence and authenticity, as origin and as ideal" (Desmond 1999: 254).

Malefty (1998) studied how local people distinguish their private flamenco performances from public performances for tourists on gendered terms. The author asserted that in criticizing public performances of flamenco for tourists as inauthentic, flamenco aficionados actually used public performances to establish a relational opposition to their own private performances, thus authenticating their own performances. He wrote,

> Curiously, although peña aficionados appear to resist an encroaching tourism by scorning flamenco's commercial popularity, a deeper look at their private practice of tradition reveals a relational emphasis that actually embraces flamenco's popular exploitation. While aficionados deride flamenco "for sale" in popular venues as "inauthentic" compared to "authentic" flamenco among locals, exaggerate the differences between these

> social realms to establish a relation of mutual opposition... In the dynamic relationship between private and public flamenco, peña aficionados imply gender complementarity by means of performance contrasts. Flamenco "tradition" practiced locally among members in private peña clubs becomes a feminine construct of the "inside," which opposes but complements flamenco performed for tourist in the public arena of masculine display and challenge "outside." (Malefty 1998:63-4)

Certainly it is no surprise to hear that the locals found the music and dance performances for tourists to be inauthentic. Malefty's research is interesting because it demonstrated that even when performances for tourists are considered inauthentic and commercialized, they do not necessarily degrade the same musical and dance genre for local people; in fact, by allowing people to construct contrasts about social and performance aspects of private vs. public flamenco, the presence of tourist shows appeared to invigorate local experiences and cultural expressions.

Taken together, these studies demonstrated that scholars and many of their local informants question the authenticity of dinner show performances. Within the context of commercialization and the gaze of the "outsider," these performances illustrated cases of restricted economic opportunities and a silencing of the social, economic, and political histories that turned these cultural expressions into exotic cultural entertainment for tourists. But is this always the case? As Malefty suggested, critiques

about authenticity and commercialization can actually strengthen local identity and cultural practices. Also Shaw and Shaw (1999) and Desmond (1999) assumed a clear distinction between local cultural traditions and performers and an audience composed entirely of foreign tourists. My research in Cusco offered interesting variations on these issues. I learned that tourist restaurants actually opened new economic opportunities for a few musicians; those conventional assumptions of what is "touristy" or authentic and of insiders vs. outsiders in the audience may not apply.

MacCannell (1999) brought the issue of authenticity to the forefront in studies on tourism. He drew on Erving Goffman's theory of social environments as having front and back stages to suggest that locals manage tourists by limiting them to the front stage, while "real" local life goes on in the back stage. However, he also noted that tourists seek authentic experiences. Therefore, locals construct front stage areas to appear like back stages, thus preserving the real back stage for themselves. All public life in areas with tourism are structured this way. MacCannell termed this "staged authenticity." He wrote:

> The touristic way of getting in with the natives is to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perceptions and insights. The quest for authenticity is marked off in stages in the passage from front to back. Movement from stage to stage corresponds to growing touristic understanding. This continuum is sufficiently developed

> in some areas of the world that it appears as an infinite regression of stage sets. Once in this manifold, the tourist is trapped. (MacCannell 1999:106)

This entrapment, in an evolving series of front stages dressed to appear like back stages, is in part caused by an inherent contradiction in tourism, rather than duplicity on the part of hosts. The authentic by definition is the real everyday life and culture, but tourists travel precisely to escape the everyday in their own lives. MacCannell went on to write:

> Tourists enter tourist areas precisely because their experiences will not, for them, be routine…It is only when a person makes an effort to penetrate into the real life of the areas he visits that he ends up in places especially designed to generate feelings of intimacy and experiences that can be talked about as "participation." No one can "participate" in his own life; he can only participate in the lives of others. And once tourists have entered touristic space, there is no way out for them so long as they press their search for authenticity. Near each tourist setting there are others like the last. Each one may be visited, and each one promises real and convincing shows of local life and culture. (MacCannell 1999:106)

If MacCannell is correct, then when culture is used as a resource one could expect two things: first, a constant struggle for tourists to find the series of so-called back stages in their quest for authenticity resulting in, second, the constant need for locals to construct

these staged cultural experiences to satisfy the need for authenticity that the mundane real world could never satisfy. However, it was my experiences with music in a context that is undeniably all front stage that helped me to understand that Cusqueños saw their own cultural authenticity and the trappings of tourism in a very different way from MacCannell. Nevertheless, there were real differences in how restaurants and nightclubs were patronized in Cusco, but this had very little to do with authenticity.

Dinner and a Show

I chose to investigate restaurants with a musical and dance show as part of this dissertation because, while Inti Raymi was conceived as an expression of local culture for local people and foreign tourists, the restaurants represented, unambiguously, a performance context created just for tourism. In this wholly new performance context in Cusco, how does the music compare to other performance contexts? Is this a case where the music is divorced from local culture, making it the epitome of the inauthentic or "touristy?"

Throughout my fieldwork in 2006 I visited restaurants with musical shows as a patron. I visited the Inca House restaurant in Urubamba and the following restaurants in Cusco: Pachcutec, Palacio del Inca, Estanción, Inka Wall, Don José Antonio, La Bodegadita, and El Turco. The majority of my visits were to Don José Antonio,

Estanción, and Inka Wall. These restaurants shared the same owner and the same musical and dance groups rotated among those restaurants.

To my knowledge no one has compiled a history or survey of the restaurants in Cusco. Therefore, it is only an estimation to note that restaurants with a dinner show began to appear in Cusco in the early 1980s. El Turco was founded then, as was now defunct El Fogón de las Mestizas, where *Filigranas Peruanas* performed in its early days.

During my visits in 2006, there were some notable differences among the restaurants in how they staged the music. La Bodegadita was the most unique because, instead of hiring musicians and dancers to entertain patrons as they ate, this restaurant offered salsa lessons to patrons before the dinner service. The restaurant was relatively new to Cusco and was founded by one British and one Cuban ex-patriot, the former being the dance instructor. On September 20, 2006, my husband Jimmi and I were the only students at the one hour dance lesson. We practiced basic steps and three turns to a CD and returned a few hours later to a mediocre Cuban meal. Inca House restaurant in Urubamba and Pachcutec and Palacio del Inca in Cusco were clearly intended as traditional restaurants that happened to be large enough for a musical group to stand in a

corner for added entertainment. At times during my fieldwork these restaurants had no musical show.

In contrast, El Turco, la Estanción, Inka Wall, and Don José Antonio clearly defined themselves as dinner show restaurants by constructing a stage on their restaurant floor and structuring dinner service around the performance. These restaurants sometimes required reservations during the high tourist season, May-September, and had fixed seating times due to the performance schedule. With the exception of Estanción, all were large restaurants that specialized in serving large groups, 10-30 people at a table were common. At El Turco patrons ordered from a menu and paid a 7 soles cover charge for the entertainment, while Estanción, Inka Wall, and Don José Antonio served a buffet dinner for $10-17, which included the show, a free pisco sour[27], but no other beverages. At that price, they were among of the most expensive restaurants in the city, when a typical *cena*, evening meal, set menu at a working class restaurant in Cusco gave you soup and an entrée for less than a dollar.

The format of the performances was very similar among the four restaurants. All usually had three acts, with the middle group being the headliners, since during the first act diners/the audience were distracted with ordering or waiting in line at the buffet and

by the third act many had finished eating and began leaving the restaurant. There were also striking similarities in the content of the shows. One of the three groups, usually the first act, was a dance group consisting of 4-8 people (depending on the size of the stage) in equal numbers of men and women who performed folk dances from mainly Cusco and other Andean regions of Peru, such as Huaylas[28]. They also occasionallly performed dances from the coast of Peru, such as the Marinera or Alcatraz[29]. The remaining two acts were musical groups that performed a mix of Andean music, huaynos, Condor Pasa, "Llorando se fué"[30] combined with arrangements of Western art music, and Latin American classics such as "Cielito Lindo" and "Guantanamera."

With the general framework established, I want to discuss two particular issues that came to light when I attended these performances. First, these restaurant venues provided a unique economic opportunity for musicians, both as a steady gig and as a place to market their CDs. Second, I attended many of these performances in the

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[27] A cocktail made from pisco (distilled from grapes and named after the region of Peru where it is produced), lime juice, and an egg white.

[28] The most commonly performed dance from the Junín department is known as huaylas antiguo, which is a couple's dance known for its foot stomping (zapateo).

[29] The marinera is a couple's dance from the coast of Peru that is known for using a handkerchief as a prop. It has a characteristic compound duple rhythm, sesquialtera, making it part of the zambaqueca family of dances that also include the cueca of Chile and the zamba of Argentina. Alcatraz is a folk dance believed to be of Afro-Peruvian origin. It is danced in pairs of men and women, who place a strip of paper or cloth in the small of their back as their partner dances with a candle and tries to get close enough to light the paper on fire. See Romero (1994) for more information.

[30] The song was made famous by the Bolivian group Los Kjarkas.

company of Cusqueños[31] and initially I was very surprised that they truly enjoyed these performances. Previously I had assumed that these would be regarded by locals as "touristy." Instead of a lack of authenticity, their reactions shed some light on how Cusqueños view the trappings of tourism in their city.

To understand what kind of professional opportunity these show restaurants offered to musicians, I concentrated on one group, Arco Iris, that regularly performed at Don José Antonio and occasionally at Estanción. The group was founded in the early 1970s by Everardo Rodríguez who was joined in the late 1970s by Sergio Villafuerte Rodríguez and his brother Darwin. Other musicians joined the group more recently, including Wilfredo Huillca on percussion and Juan Carlos Aragón Díaz on wind instruments. When I saw the group perform in 2006, Sergio Villafuerte Rodríguez was the leader on stage and spokesperson for the group. He gave me a brief interview about the group after a performance on October 18, 2006.

From their performances, it was clear that Arco Iris had been performing for many years. Every time I saw them perform it was exactly the same: the set list; the way Sergio Villafuerte Rodríguez announced the songs; their transition between pieces and instruments; and they never missed a note. All the musicians in the group played

[31] I always went with my husband and often with close friends of family, his from Cusco, and mine

multiple instruments during the performance, including vocal parts that were in two and three part harmony, but the overall instrumentation consisted of: acoustic guitars and bass, charango, bombo, and zampoñas and quenas of various sizes.[32]

For their set, Arco Iris mixed Andean pieces such as "Carnavalito Humahuaqueno" and "Condor Pasa" (their closing number) with Western Art music, which included arrangements of "Joy" by J.S. Bach and a medley of Mozart that included "Turkish March" and "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik." The audience recognized many of these pieces and responded very enthusiastically. None of the pieces lasted longer than five minutes and the entire set was less than forty-five minutes.

This combination of music marked a departure from all the other music in Cusco at the raymi festivals, folk dance competitions, and pilgrimages, and it demonstrated the range of music that a group indentifying itself as Cusqueño could acceptably play and that audiences expecting a performance of local culture would accept. While the *música cusqueña* aesthetic clearly dominated the raymi performances, the dinner shows and the set performed repeatedly by Arco Iris (along with a similarly mixed repertoire and

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visiting from the United States.

[32] Because zampoñas are made of a series of cane tubes cut to different sizesthe pitches are fixed. Zampoñas are sold in different configurations for different keys and different ranges. Because quenas are an open hole end-blown notch flute, they are also sold in different sizes so they they can be used for pieces in different keys. A standard quena easily plays G and C major and their relative minors. Other

favorable audience reaction of the other groups) demonstrated the variety of musical material found in Cusco. Therefore, when culture becomes a resource it does not necessarily limit the overall repertoire. In the case of Cusco, where there were multiple contexts for music as a part of tourism, acceptable musical repertoire related to context rather than audience or generalized standards of cultural authenticity.

These dinner show restaurants represented one of the most important opportunities for musicians in Cusco to benefit from tourism. First they offered a few groups a regular gig. Equally as important, every night there was a chance to direct market their CDs to cash paying customers. There were few opportunities for musicians to do this in Cusco because most of the CDs for sale in stores outside of the tourist center were illegal copies that cost around a dollar. Peru has copyright laws, but very little money to enforce them. The exceptions to this were the centrally located shops frequented by tourists. An owner of one of these shops told me that they were regularly checked by the tax police to make sure that they only sold original CDs.[33]

Arco Iris was typical of groups in dinner show restaurants in the marketing of CDs. After their set they moved throughout the room selling their CD. CDs cost $10-15. Arco Iris sold their album *Alegria-Joy*, which was copyright in 1995 and recorded in

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keys can be played by half-holing to lower the pitch by half a step, but this can be inaccurate and it is easier to simply play a longer or shorter quena to play in a different key.

Lima. Groups in Cusco who are able to record professionally often must pay some or all of the costs themselves and take on marketing and sales to recoup their investments, and hopefully turn a profit. Recording "classics" of their own arrangements that were mainly in the public domain and being the long time headliners at a well established dinner show gave Arco Iris numerous opportunities over ten years to profit from selling their CDs directly to tourists.

Sergio Villafuerte Rodríguez, in addition to his work as a musician, also earned a degree in tourism from the University of Cusco San Antonio Abad and contributed an article to a conference on regional music in 1996. In it he discussed how, prior to the 1980s, *zampoñas* were not part of music from Cusco, but they gained in popularity because of Bolivian groups like Los Kjarkas. He wrote that Cusco groups felt obliged to adopt the instruments in order to earn money. Villafuerte's most interesting reflections on music and tourism explored the pull between the need to be an artist creating new music and the restaurant owner's and audience's desire to hear familiar pieces. He wrote, "I believe that since 1980…I would have played "Condor Pasa" around a thousand times, the same for the huayno "Vilacha" and many more songs that we are definitely obliged to play night after night, day after day. This tedious aspect stresses

[33] Personal interview with Christina in Av. Del Sol October 10, 2006.

the artist, he gets bored. Therefore there isn't much desire left to try to produce new things. For the artist, I think that this is the most negative aspect" (Villafuerte Rodríguez 1996:20). Therefore, despite the apparent greater flexibility in musical repertoire compared to raymi performances, in reality, groups who perform at dinner shows may have limited control over certain aspects of their sets in exchange for a measure of financial security. This, however, is not unique to Cusco. Musicians like Bruce Springsteen or Tina Turner frequently must repeat hits from the 1970s and 80s because fans pay to hear "Born to Run" or "Proud Mary."

Villafeurte and the other members of the group may have solved this problem by finding other opportunities to play music where they had more control over the repertoire. After our brief interview, Villafuerte Rodríguez suggested that I see them play the following night at a club called Kamakazi in order to fully understand the group's musical range. Kamakazi was located one block from the plaza de armas. It alternated live music with DJs and attracted a varied crowd depending on the musical offerings and free drink coupons (see section below on nightclubs). October 18, 2006 my husband Jimmi, his friends Chale, and I arrived around 11pm to hear their set. The audience appeared to be mainly local people, more upscale than at other clubs judging from the bottles of whiskey and rum on the tables rather than liters of beer.

For their set at Kamakazi the group appeared in street clothes, jeans and shirts, rather than the black ponchos with rainbow colored fringe that they wore at the dinner show gigs. They played electric bass and guitars, but still used charango and quena for some songs. As in the dinner show, Villafuerte Rodríguez was the leader on stage announcing the songs, and the group moved from song to song with its usual precision and economy.

The beginning of the set was mainly Latin American popular music like "Yolanda" and "Milagro de Amor." Next was a block of, in Villafuerte's words, "folkloric" music that included *huaynos* "Paurcartambo" by Jorge Núñez del Prado and "Ojos Azules," which Villafuerte said was originally and huayno from Precolumbian times in the sacred valley called "Ojos bonitos." They closed with a *saya*.[34] The set lasted about forty-five minutes and they did not sell CDs afterwards.

Before moving on to the other nightclubs in Cusco, I want to discuss an important, though not directly related, issue. From the perspective of the tourist or the scholar the question "But isn't it really touristy?" is perhaps unavoidable. Chapter five discussed the assumption that only a tourist would mistake "fake" culture from the real. There are many reasons why that clichéd dichotomy between real and spurious culture

did not resonate for me in Cusco. One reason became clear to me at the dinner shows. When I chose them as a research site, I chose them for their research value in relation to tourism and not for what I, wrongly, interpreted as their value to local culture. As noted above, they turned out to be a genuine part of musical life in Cusco because they gave musicians the opportunity to earn a living as musicians. That was not a surprise to me. I was, however, greatly surprised to see how much Cusqueños and Peruvians visiting from other parts of the country enjoyed the music.[35] They did not enjoy with reservation, despite their better judgment or cynically. They really appeared to enjoy it. They danced, applauded, took picture, bought CDs and called for more.

I had expected that they would feel the need to explain to me that this was not what "real" Cusqueños did or that the music was not really in the Cusco style. It was true that not many Cusqueños frequented the restaurant, but that had more to do with the price, which was 10-15 times the cost of a normal dinner. So, I had to give up my baggage about what was "touristy" to try to understand why the dinner shows were enjoyable and acceptable as authentic music in Cusco.

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[34] Saya is a music and dance genre that originated in Bolivia and is believed to be of Afro-Bolivian origin, though it is very popular among Andean Bolivians, and is known for its call and response chorus and distinctive rhythm. See Wara Céspedes (1993) for more information.

[35] Don José Antonio placed small flags on tables to indicate a group's country of origin. Cusco is a favorite destination for upper-class Peruvians to celebrate graduation from high school. They often traveled in (loud) groups of 15-25 eighteen-nineteen year olds.

While many people outside of Cusco see restaurants, clubs, goods, and expressive culture produced *for* tourists as inauthentic (tainted by their failure to exist beyond a commodity for "outsiders"), Cusqueños have another perspective on these trappings of tourism. Recall that since the 1940s, people have imagined that tourism would develop Cusco socially and economically. In the 1970s funds procured through Plan COPESCO built roads, sewer systems, hotels, and brought electricity to many areas. Therefore, when Cusqueños talked about tourist restaurants, tourist buses, and tourist hotels, I understood them to refer to a higher class of service, which they themselves often could not access because of the exponentially higher costs compared to local restaurants, buses, etc. Therefore, "touristy" here was not inauthentic, but something often within sight but out of reach.

"Jaladors" and Nightclub Segregation

If it was the high prices rather than a lack of authenticity that kept many Cusqueños away from the dinner shows, did the same hold true for the nightclubs in Cusco? Are the nightclubs part of the familiar musical repertoire of Cusco? Who enjoys them and at what cost? Do they provide the same economic opportunities to musicians? In this section I focus on two aspects of nightclubs in Cusco. First, there are many venues in Cusco, but Cusqueños and tourists only regularly mix at one or two. Second,

opportunities for musicians exist, but at few clubs and lack regularity for local artists. Nightclubs do offer one distinct employment opportunity to young Cusqueños, *jalando* "pulling" tourists into clubs with their good looks, friendly banter and coupons for free drinks.

The greatest separations between tourists and Cusqueños in how they experience music revealed themselves in the city's nightlife. The preferred drinks, the music, the places, and the patrons all moved in close, but discrete circles. I visited a few clubs frequented by Cusqueños in the company of my husband and his family and friends. Typically, these clubs had a stereo system that played pre-recorded music or a DJ playing: mainly *huaynos*, *chicha*, *techno cumbias*, and the occasional salsa or *reggeaton* song.[36] The patrons, by their appearance, were not tourists from North America, Europe or Asia. The drink of choice was liters of beer. Many clubs had a two to three liter minimum rather than a cover charge. These clubs, especially the large ones, had a reputation for the occasional excessive drinking and violence. Therefore there were always conspicuous security guards. However, I never witnessed anything more and the rare shouting or shoving match. The largest of these clubs was referred to as Las Vegas and was located in the Belen neighborhood, a ten minute walk from the plaza de armas,

and the center of the tourist club world. During the day, Belen was the center of commercial life, commerce other than tourism, for Cusqueños, but there was literally no sign that Las Vegas was there during the day.

Given all the prerecorded music, these clubs gave more opportunities to beer distributors and security guards than to local musicians. The club Tradiciones Cusqueñas was an exception to this. Also in the Belen neighborhood, this club often featured a house band that played *huaynos* and *chichi*. Patrons frequently passed written dedications on to the vocalist, who read it out loud and performed the requested song. Since the dedications were accompanied by much toasting by the group requesting the song, management encouraged this to increase beer sales.

The nightclubs frequented by tourists featured very different music, drinks, and economic opportunities for locals. The nightclubs frequented by North American, European, Israeli, and Asian tourists clustered around the plaza de armas and a few streets that radiated out from the plaza. Some were pubs with prerecorded music in the background, but the patrons talked, drank, and sometimes ate. These included Cross Keys, Norton Rats, Paddy Flaherty's, and Rosie O'Grady's. The lounges Los Perros and The Muse offered similar experiences.

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[36] *Chicha* is a Peruvian popular music that combines huaynos with cumbia rhythms and electric guitars.

Dancing was the focus at the following clubs: Ukuku's, Kamakazi, Mama Africa, Mama Amerika, Uptown Club, Garabatos, among others. They all played mixes of current and past hits from mainly North America, the Caribbean, and South America, though some clubs leaned more to a particular repertoire, at least in 2006. Garabatos played more salsa and occasionally had live bands and dance competitions. Mama Africa played mainly North American rock and pop with some reggae mixed in. Ukuku's infrequently had live acts playing rock en español. Once I saw a folk dance group performing AfroPeruvian dances to pre-recorded music. What they definitely never played was *música cusqueña* and very, very rarely *huaynos* or *chicha*, making these nightclubs musically distinct from the raymi festivals, the pilgrimage, the dinner shows, and even the nightclubs in the Belen area.

Before discussing the economic opportunities that the clubs brought, a few observations about their patrons are necessary. First, these are my observations rather than an objective census of patrons. Therefore, they suggest general trends but do not offer precise statistics. While these clubs are open to anyone, the *majority* of their patrons, especially during the high tourist season of May-September, were not Cusqueños. Some clubs, such as Ukuku's and Kamakazi, tended to have more local

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Techno cumbia is a variation on *chicha* that started in the 1990s and is characterized by faster tempos and

people, especially when there was live music. Garabatos also regularly had a large number of locals, but the other clubs mentioned above often did not. Why? There were several obvious things that I observed. First, like the dinner show restaurants the covers and the drinks at these clubs were expensive compared to the liters of beer at a Belen club, $2-4 for one cocktail compared to $3 for a liter of beer.[37] Second, the free drink coupon marketing was directed at tourists not locals. Finally, there have been isolated incidents where locals were discouraged from patronizing clubs with higher cover charges. In 2004 the newspaper *El Sol del Cusco* reported that the club Mama Amerika was forced to pay a 64,000 soles fine because it charged Peruvians a 10 soles cover while admitting foreign tourists for free ("Multan a discoteca…" 2004:2).

Unlike the dinner shows, nightclubs did not offer enough live music performances for musicians to support themselves with regular gigs. So who, besides the club owners, benefited from tourists patronizing nightclubs? Recall the quote that opened this chapter. The author mentioned the young women who tried to "seduce" tourists into certain clubs and restaurants. He was referring to people that are sometimes referred to by locals as *jaladors* "pullers" because their job is to pull people into clubs and restaurants with their youth, good looks, charm and coupons for free drinks. Before

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extensive use of synthesized percussion. See Romero (2002) for more information.

continuing, it is necessary to clarify that these young people were really marketing for clubs and not acting as a front for sex tourism. Though prostitution exists in Cusco, it was not a major problem in relation to tourism and Cusco was not known as a sex tourism destination.

I can offer only general observations about the work of *jaladors* because I was only able to really observe them 10-15 times and conducted very brief interviews as they worked only once. Therefore, this is not an ethnographic study on this group of people, but rather an observation about one unique job related to music and tourism in Cusco. Even approaching them as an ethnomusicologist was difficult. To be safe, I went out at night with my husband and his friend Chale, and when I was with them none of the *jaladors* approached me. This was in stark contrast to the summer of 2002 before I was married and went to clubs with other North Americans studying in Cusco. In 2002, a quick tour around the plaza would yield free drink coupons to at least five clubs. Chale and Jimmi knew that it was because they were with me. When they backed off ten yards, I was approached. A few people reluctantly agreed to speak to me, but I was

[37] Cusqueños never drank a liter alone; rather, it was always shared among friends by passing one small glass in turn.

clearly a nuisance and made them uncomfortable since they were supposed to be working.[38]

Given the limitations of my knowledge on this subject, I can offer only the following: I do not know how much a person earned, how long they worked, or what experiences they had while working. I only learned enough to surmise that *jaladors* did not like to be referred to as *jaladors*. Though it was a commonly used slang term, it also had a pejorative connotation because many people questioned the morality of the work, assuming that working for nightclubs meant frequent drinking and partying for the workers. People "pulling" for the clubs represented themselves as students just trying to earn a little money the only way they could. So while nightclubs offered varied musical entertainment to locals and tourists they may also creates positions that many people under better circumstance would not accept.

Conclusions

Dinner show restaurants and nightclubs demonstrated the depth of music related to tourism in Cusco. Despite the domination of the *música cusqueña* aesthetic at the

[38] When they did not approach me when I was in the company for two Cusqueños and because of their obvious discomfort at being interviewed for a thesis, I quickly realized that anything more than general observations would need ethnographic work. But because I chose to pursue a broad approach to culture as a resource in Cusco I knew that I would not have the time to devote to finding out more about this work. Also, no one has ever responded with clear discomfort in talking to me about my research project,

raymi festivals, Cusqueños and tourists actually accepted a broad range of music and dance as acceptable performances of local culture. Their acceptability was determined by their context. They also offered another perspective on culture as a resource in Cusco, rather than "staged authenticity" or ugly "touristy" kitsch, on one level they represented the picturesque filth of young people forced to "chat up" tourists because it was one of the few job opportunities available to them. Marketing a friendly party atmosphere ignored the reality of clear divisions between locals and tourists at clubs.

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therefore I wondered if I was unknowingly treading on a sensitive issue, and so did not pursue the topic of nightclubs further and do not name the people who briefly spoke with me.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions: Culture as a Resource in Cusco

This concluding chapter first summarizes the most important information raised in the preceding chapters to establish the broad view of music and tourism in Cusco, the effects on music, and what economic opportunities relate to those events. Next, the conclusions about culture as a resource are brought together and analyzed as a whole. Finally, conclusions are also viewed through the metaphor outlined in chapter one, picturesque filth. This metaphor represents the contradictory nature of the economics and cultural experiences generated by tourism that are simultaneously awful and wonderful. It also expresses an anesthetization of poverty through words, images, music, and dance.

Summary

The introduction presented the dissertation topic: what happens when culture becomes the main economic resources for a local population. This question is particularly relevant in Cusco, Peru, where heritage and cultural tourism are a major part of the local economy. To focus on musical performances related to travel and tourism, I concentrated my research on festivals that developed as both representations

of local history and tourist attractions. I also investigated other venues such as restaurants with musical performances and nightclubs.

In the introduction's summary of ethnomusicological and anthropological studies of tourism, several key issues emerged. First, does tourism act as an agent of change that diminish the local musical practices or does tourism foster a fluid situation in which musical practices, aesthetics, audiences, and performance contexts are continually reshaped and reevaluated? As subsequent chapters indicated, within conditions generated by tourism and using culture as a resource in Cusco, the situation in Cusco indeed exhibited a degree of fluidity, especially in the creation of new performance contexts and the on-going efforts of some institutions and performers to maintain authenticity as well as artistic creativity. Next, the introduction presented a brief summary of the history of tourism in Cusco. The development of tourism took place throughout the twentieth century in Cusco, promoted by local intellectual,, artist,, politician,, as well as international institutions such as UNESCO.

Finally, the methods of research and analysis were outlined. These included fieldwork in Cusco using a variation on the participant observation method. In an attempt to research a wide variety of festivals, pilgrimage, travel, and other music venues, I participated outwardly like a tourist, rather than as a musician, as is common

for ethnomusicologists. Also, I did not follow the pattern of traditional ethnographic research in which the researcher develops a (professional) relationship to informants in one fixed, local site: developing rapport, in order to observe many aspects of their daily life; cultivating trust with the informants so that sometimes deep, personal, controversial, or difficult questions can be asked; with responses properly interpreted, represented, and located within the ethnographer's written analysis. As was discussed in the introduction and Chapter four discussed, this variation to traditional methods was due to the following reasons: On a practical and ethical level, given the number of performance events and the different groups participating, it was impossible to develop and maintain a rapport that would have yielded good data and respected the informants as individuals, with lives beyond my research interests. On a theoretical level, by participating as someone like a tourist I opened space to consider a role that culture researchers can play that is "in-between."

Chapter One, "Culture as a Resource: A Historical and Theoretical Discussion," outlined a framework for understanding music and tourism. Examples of the institutions, laws, and individuals who defined culture in terms of a resource established the historical context. Culture became entangled in a discursive field of resources through two routes. First, it connected to the preservation of natural resources through

institutions like the National Parks Services and UNESCO by way of people such as Dr. Ernest Allen Connally. This made culture and heritage the domain of governmental and international institutions, and experts who worked for those institutions. Their mission was to preserve culture and heritage and also to make them useful. Second, culture is linked to resources through an effort to answer critiques against development projects that were perceived as one-size-fits-all Westernization. By conflating traditional objects (culture) with the whole way of a people (Culture), "culture for development" objectifies culture through the sale of handicrafts to tourists. Rather than the antithesis of development and modernization, traditional culture, when transformed into a resource for economic opportunities, actually reinforces development projects. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) noted, "While persistence in old life ways may not be economical… the valorization of those life ways as heritage (and integration of heritage into economies of cultural tourism) is economically viable, consistent with economic development theory, and can be brought into line with national ideologies of cultural uniqueness and modernity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 61).

In addition to heritage and development projects, culture as a resource was also influenced by travel and folklore, but in a less direct way. Therefore, I introduced a phrase found in some travel writing, "picturesque filth," to act as a metaphor about the

ways that folklore and travel practices asetheticized poverty in an effort to make it valuable. As a metaphor, picturesque filth also suggests the ways that tourism is simultaneously awful and wonderful. For travelers, the poverty they encountered made them uncomfortable, but also proved useful in their travel and in their prose. By juxtaposing the beauty of people, landscape, or music alongside dirt and desperation, travelers certified that their travels had taken them beyond the limits of Westernization and the typical mass tourism sphere.

Folklorists in Cusco, such as Cabellero Farfan, traveled to find and extract the survivals of Inca music for use in new performance contexts and new musical practices related to *indigenismo* and tourism. Both the distance traveled and the poverty of the rural indigenous inhabitants served as authentication of be as yet untouched by modernization and hence unwitting vessels in the preservation of Inca cultural practices such as music. The music collected by folklorist was shaped into new repertoire created for new performance contexts by composers, musicians, dancers, writers, and intellectuals as part of the in the early-mid twentieth century *indigenismo* movement in Cusco.

Chapter Two, “Inti Raymi: Musical Aesthetics and Authenticity,” summarized the historical context of the *indigenismo* movement that fostered the revival of Inti

Raymi and promoted socio-economic development in Cusco through tourism. This historical perspective also revealed musical foundations of the performance that are grounded in folklore research and performances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. By describing performances of Inti Raymi over the last five decades, with particular attention to the 2006 performance, a sketch developed of the people and the social relationships involved in the annual performance. Though effectively open to all people to participate, in effect the demands for historical and cultural accuracy has placed the content of the performance in the hands of a few expert historians, anthropologists, composers, folklorists, and cultural institutions. While there have been many modifications to the script, resulting in an official, copyrighted script, there is no official score for Inti Raymi. However, given that the context of Inti Raymi is the re-enactment of an Inca ritual, the pieces are from the repertoire of *música cusqueña*. The aesthetics of this repertoire limit the instrumentation, mode, and melodic material.

Despite limitations related to the content, there were key areas for agency. First, cultural groups, such as *Filigranas Peruanas* who performed Inti Raymi in 2006, have opportunities to participate in a variety of ways in Cusco. They performed a diverse range of repertoire for paying audiences of tourists. This economic opportunity allowed

them to perform for free at small community events. Second, though the majority of Cusqueños have no direct influence on the content of Inti Raymi, on several occasions in recent years they have used the prestige and economic significance of the performance to protest against privatization of utilities and limitations placed on ambulant vendors. Finally, though the structure of the performance and the strong demands of historical authenticity limit the performance of Inti Raymi, there are other models for performing history that facilitate dialog with the past.

Chapter Three "Other Raymis: Cultural Resources on the Periphery," explored other festivals performed in the small towns and villages outside of Cusco that used Inti Raymi as a model for both socio-economic development through tourism and as a model for the content of the performance itself. People in the Santiago neighborhood of Cusco city, and the villages of Paccarectambo, Urcos, Oropesa, and San Jeronimo all started festivals with performances of Inca history and culture in the 1980s-1990s. They hoped to draw tourists (and their money) away from the typical tourist destinations of Cusco city and Manchu Picchu. Overall, the results were mixed. With the exception of the San Jeronimo performance, I observed very few foreign tourists at these festivals. However, based on the size of the audience, people did travel to these festivals from Cusco and other towns in the region, creating economic opportunities for vendors at

these events. However, opportunities were much more limited for musicians. With the exception of San Jeronimo when the students were the musicians, all the raymi performances brought in musicians from outside the community. I speculated that this was in part due to the specificity of the musical repertoire, *música cusqueña,* which was not the typical musical repertoire of the patron saint festivals and pilgrimages that rural musicians traditionally performed.

In two cases, the performance did not gain enough traction within the community to continue. In Santiago the entire festival was abandoned, while in Oropesa the historical reenactment of the Spanish teaching the conquered indigenous population to bake bread was suspended. The Oropesa festival continued to celebrate the town's commercial success with bread in a daytime ceremony with speeches and folkdances and an evening party featuring contemporary Andean popular music.

The prominence and proliferation of these raymi type performances bring forth the question of whether people in rural communities on the periphery of Cusco and its international tourism market must "be for others" in expressing their culture and heritage in order to gain respect, recognition, and economic opportunities. This, then, begs the question as to the consequences of that recognition.

Chapter Four “Who’s a Tourist?” discussed issues of the role, behavior and knowledge of tourists, cultural researchers, tourists and locals. I attempted a pragmatic, though unconventional, method of participant observation as part of the research for this dissertation. I participated like a tourist at the public performances in Cusco and nearby villages. I did this to reflexively examine the academic research of culture and to break down the dichotomy of insiders and outsiders by demonstrating how culture researchers, locals, and tourists are variously interrelated. By inquiring how we are all in-between we can understand how fluid and subjective positions can be under conditions of cultural tourism.

Chapter Five, “Traveling Cusqueños: Señor de Qoyllur rit’i Pilgrimage,” presented travel from another perspective, that of dance groups and musicians from Cusco traveling on an annual pilgrimage. This was an effort to understand travel in Cusco from not only from the perspective of foreign travel for the purpose of leisure. While attended by a few foreign tourists, the Señor de Qoyllur rit’i pilgrimage remained overwhelmingly a religious event that offered numerous musicians a small economic opportunity. While the majority of the group that I traveled with clearly distinguished their travel from tourism, since they traveled to demonstrate religious devotion, other forms of travel were evident at the event in the context of “playing.” Here, pilgrims

asked for the intervention of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i by imagining what they wanted for the future. One option included a play visa to travel to the United Stated or the European Union to find employment opportunities.

Finally Chapter six, "Dinner and a Show: The Limits of "Touristy," discussed other music venues such as restaurants with musical shows, and nightclubs. Like Inti Raymi, the dinner shows limited the repertoire of the group, but through the opportunities of a regular paying gig and direct sales of their CD, the musicians of Arco Iris were able to perform in other contexts which gave them more freedom in the content and style of their performance.

The nightclubs highlighted two interesting facets of the musical life in Cusco. First, there were noticeable distinctions in the clientele and music of clubs mainly frequented by Cusqueños and those frequented by foreign tourists. While there was no evidence of widespread and active segregation, it did demonstrate one area of public musical life where not many people seemed in-between. Second, nightclubs often used pre-recorded music and thus offered limited opportunities to local musicians. The nightclubs did generate a new kind of informal employment opportunity. The slang term "jalador" referred to the dozens of young Cusqueños who market for clubs by handing out coupons for free drinks. Though I know little about them, they were aware

that their job was considered suspect, but they saw it as one of the few opportunities to make some money while pursuing their education or hoping for something better.

Audiences, Spaces, and Power

While all the performances described in this dissertation were connected in some way to tourism, there were significant differences in the makeup of the audiences. As the introduction noted, audiences are far from empty vessels being temporarily filled with sound; their presence and participation mattered. How it mattered depended on the contexts of the performance. Here, I summarize these differences among the audiences and discuss how the sites and the performances as cultural resources/patrimony structure the audiences' interactions.

Previously mentioned scholarship constructs a theoretical framework for considering this issue. In his theory of cultural flows, Appadurai (1996) suggested that globalization allowed for people to imagine possibilities beyond their immediate conditions. He wrote, "Even the meanest and most hopeless lives…no longer see their lives as mere outcomes of the givenness of things, but often as the ironic compromise between what they could imagine and what social life will permit" (Appadurai 1996:198). Tourism relates to both the ethnoscape, ideoscape, and financescape that Appadurai identified because tourism generates and structures the constant flows of

people, their money, and ideas about people, places, and their cultures. Next, Magelssen (2006) argued that structure and content of historical performances can generate or reduce agency. He noted that traditional first person reenactments limited the ability of both the audience and the performers to actively engage with narratives about the past. Finally, Shaw and Shaw (1999) and Wibbelsman (2005) studied how the spaces of tourism and festival performances related to power. Shaw and Shaw (1999) termed resort enclaves "concentration camps of leisure" because they sought to maximize profits by keeping guests within the boundaries of the resort. They accomplished this by bringing cultural performances to the guests and by discouraging outside travel by implying that areas outside the resort might be unsafe. Wibbelsman studied how the Inti Raymi festival in Ecuador used performance as a symbolic act of taking possession of the central plaza. She argued that for the indigenous Otavaleños "conquering the plaza and claiming the political power that it represents are the prime objectives of the San Juan dances" (Wibbelsman 2005:198).

Of the performances, Inti Raymi was the most complex in its use of public places, in the composition of the audiences, how the performance was structured by the space and the audiences, and, finally, how notions of culture as a resource affected the space. Inti Raymi was staged in three locations in the city of Cusco. It began at the

grounds of Qorikancha/Santo Domingo church, which were adjacent, a prime commercial street the Avenida del Sol. Spectators and performers then moved to the *plaza de armas*, where municipal government leaders awaited. Finally, all moved to the final location at the archaeological site of Sacsayhuaman, where they were met by thousands of additional audience members, travel industry workers, food vendors, and hundreds of police charged with keeping order and protecting the archaeological site. Each site was controlled by a different institution. Qorikancha was largely under the domain of the Dominican order of the Catholic Church. In the early colonial period it was common in Cusco for the newly triumphant Spanish to build their homes, churches, and offices on top of former Inca sites. The Dominican order built theirs over the partially destroyed Inca temple of Qorikancha. Over the years, the temple was largely forgotten until a devastating earthquake in the mid-twentieth century revealed walls of the Inca temple. The first revival performances of Inti Raymi in the 1940s took place only at Sacsayhuaman. Qorikanch, the site of the Inca ritual according to Garcilaso de la Vega, was added after the earthquake and subsequent archaeological excavation reestablished the space as an Inca historical site.

The audience composition for the Inti Raymi was the most diverse of all the performances. Generally speaking, they were local people from Cusco, domestic

tourists from other parts of Peru, and international tourists from abroad. Also present with the audience were people who were there for work and not for leisure. They included the tourism workers, such as guides and drivers, the police who maintained order, and vendors hoping to sell food, drinks, camera film, batteries, and etc.

Unlike other festivals in Peru, such as patron saint festivals, the audience was kept separate from the performers and the content was structured to keep people from interacting, and thus, possibly altering the performance. Inti Raymi was a scripted performance. Every action, every word, every note, and every movement was predetermined. It was a representation of a ritual, and not an actual ritual that might allow for some unclaimed space, time, meaning, or agency to emerge. There was no possibility for liminality, as Turner might have observed.

The performance spaces were structured to maintain this separation through the use of stages. On the wall of Qorikancha, on the steps of the cathedral, and on a stage constructed at Sacsayhuaman the Inca stood apart from and above the audience. Inti Raymi also separated the audience into different classes. While the majority of spectators, a mix of local and domestic and international tourists, sat on the rocky hill above the stage, which was free admission, a small number of mostly foreign tourists sat in a special section of bleacher seats. These seats were more comfortable and no one

jostled for position as they did in the free seating. These seats were closest to the stage and had the best view of the performance. These seats also cost $80 in 2006, making them out of reach to the average Cusqueño.

In 2006, under pressure from international and national institutions like UNESCO and the INC to conserve Sacsayhuaman as an archaeological site, the city banned vendors from selling food and audience members from having picnics after the performance because of the large amounts of garbage left behind. Many Cusqueños have used Inti Raymi as an opportunity for informal work and losing that opportunity impacted their ability to benefit from tourism. This example illustrated the tension between economic and preservation pressures when culture becomes a resource. It also clearly showed who had the power in that situation. The INC, a branch of a national government ministry, the local government, the national police, and international agencies collaborated to control the space and assert the importance of preserving culture over the ability of independent, lower class vendors from profiting from it.

During the Inti Raymi, hundreds of performers in Inca costumes along with the thousands of spectators who follow them literally filled the spaces they occupied, momentarily shifting the context of those spaces from their everyday religious, commercial, or historical reality. The focus shifted to a visual and sonic statement about

Cusco's past as it related to the glorious, powerful, and sophisticated Inca culture. The musicians and the Inca were broadcast over a system of loud speakers to aurally dominate the space.

The performance in those spaces also constructed the value of that interpretation of the past as well as its value today as a cultural resource. However, the power to take over these places was neither permanent nor absolute. There were several important mitigating factors. First, average Cusqueños had little say in the content of the performance, which remains in the hands of intellectuals, local administrators, and a few cultural groups. They could, however, make their interests know by choosing to attend or by staying home. Second, while it may appear during the performance that they commanded the space, in reality they had to secure permission to be there from a Roman Catholic religious order, the local government, and the INC. Without their consent, the performance could not take place. Finally, recent protests over privatization and limitations on ambulant vendors demonstrated that Inti Raymi acted as a nexus for groups with different interests to struggle for power. Protestors could attempt to disrupt the performance to gain leverage. The government could threaten to suspend the performance to regain order. Business interests could pressure the government to restore the performance so they did not lose money. In the cases I mentioned, the government

and the business owners had the upper hand. Electric services were privatized. Inti Raymi continued and the major hotels, airlines, and travel agencies that depend on the festival for a spike in business kept their customers. In 2006 the ambulant vendors did not win the right to work outside of the San Pedro market and they were even banned from the performance (though some did manage to sneak in).

In contrast to Inti Raymi, the audiences at the other raymi performances were mainly people from the small towns and Cusqueños who traveled by bus for the performance. Killa Raymi also had the added dimension of being like a school play, so the audience was mainly family members. These performances exhibited the same separation between performers and audience. Because they modeled themselves on Inti Raymi, their content also precluded direct interaction between the audience and the content of the performance in ways that might have opened up the possible outcomes.

As spaces of power there were other interesting facets. Because Los Hermanos Ayar took place at an archaeological site, it also had similar restrictions and powerful institutions involved like Inti Raymi. Killa Raymi in San Jeronimo and Qocha Raymi in Urcos took place at a school and a municipal park, respectively, thus putting them outside the realm of the INC and UNESCO. Also because they were smaller in scale and in attendance, there was minimal police presence and, to my knowledge, no group

has tried to protest or shut down the performance for political reasons. Finally, there was not prohibition of vendors at these events. They were situated in an area to the side of the stage. So while the economic promise of thousands of foreign tourists never materialized, local vendors were able to profit through sales of food, drinks, and transportation.

The audiences at the dinner shows were in many ways the opposite of the other raymi performances. They were mainly foreign and domestic tourists. As noted in Chapter Six, Cusqueños do not frequent these establishments. This was not because they found the music and dance to be inauthentic, but because the price of the meal, at $15, was far beyond their means. This illustrated that, despite the economic promise of prosperity through tourism, tourism actually created a new performance context that was essentially closed to Cusqueños.

The dinner show maintained the same separation between audience and performers and similarly eliminated the possibility for surprise, creativity, or disorder in the performance. These performances differed then not in structure, repertoire, or in outcome, but in the domination of public spaces. Unlike Inti Raymi or the other raymis, they were held inside a private restaurant. The performers did not fill the space, but seems marginalized on a small stage on the side of the room. The tables of eating

tourists and the large food buffet dominated the room. Interestingly though, these performances were the only ones that musicians had regular opportunities to economically benefit from tourism.

Follow the Money

As noted in the introduction, the WTO estimated that tourism is a $2 billion per day industry. Tourism had been touted by international institutions like the UN and the World Bank, as well as national governments, as a quick and clean path to economic modernization and prosperity. But has this been the outcome? In Cusco, where does the money go?

In the Peruvian national government, the Ministerio de comercio exterior y turismo MINCETUR (Ministry of exterior commercialization and tourism) regulates industries related to exports, such as mining, and tourism. They also keep detailed statistics about these activities. While tourism is an important sector of the economic, overall it is only as small part of the GDP. Exports, mainly from agriculture, timber, and mining, are much bigger factors in the economy. Still, in 2006 revenues from tourism (from both foreign and domestic tourists) was around $ 1,775,000,000, a 23.5%

increase from the year before.[39] MINCETUR estimated that the average foreign tourist in 2006 spent around $89 per day. Where they spent their money is the key to unraveling the potential drawbacks to tourism. They spent: 28% on accommodations, 20% on transportation, 18% on food, 14% on handicrafts, 11% on cultural services, 6 % on travel agency services, and 3% other.[40]

In the section above and in earlier chapters, I have documented who, where, and how Cusqueños gain economic opportunities through tourism. In the contexts that I studied, the opportunities discussed for local people were mainly limited to vending, often informally, food drinks, CDs, and handicrafts. Based on the MINCETUR statistics, these represent smaller amounts of spending than accommodations and transportation, which accounted for 48% of spending. So who are the people receiving almost half of the tourists' money? The largest companies are not local companies. The airline Lan and Peru Rail (the only way to get to Machu Picchu other than walking) are Chilean companies. Montaserio, considered the best hotel in Cusco, is owned by the international Orient Express brand. The only other five star hotel in Cusco, the

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[39] http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/Presentac_Cifras_de_Turismo.pdf

[40] "Estudio sobre la rentabilidad social de las inversiones en el sector turismo en el Perú Enero 2009" by Ministerio de comercio exterior y turismo http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Default.aspx?tabid=3460

Libertador, is Peruvian owned, though the company is based in Lima. Even the homey sounding, Casa Andina (Andean house) was founded in Lima. Tourism, as a capitalist industry, is fundamentally extractive in so much as it takes part of the profits from tourism away from the tourism workers and funnels it to owners and investors. Logically, then, when the half the revenues go to companies that are located outside of Cusco then the money flows outside of Cusco too. Cusqueños recognized this and frequently complained that Peru Rail was Peruvian in name only. They also criticized that the ticket sales for places like Machupicchu, which are controlled by the INC, are remitted to the central government in Lima. Lovón Zavala (1982) was an early critic of tourism in Cusco, calling it mainly a myth because investments in tourism infrastructure resulted in debt to be repaid for the sake of admitting non Cusqueño companies into the newly created market.

This flow of money away from the site of tourism has been termed "leakage." In a study of the tourism on Taquile Island in Peru, Mitchell and Reid (2001) noted that Taquile's proximity to Puno may have negative effects in the long run due to economic "leakages," which are defined as profits made from Taquile tourism that flow outside of Taquile. Puno tour agencies often booked transportation and guide services, leaving Taquileños to control island entrance fees, accommodations with local families,

restaurants, and textile sales. Businesses in Puno received additional profits because island businesses often imported goods, such as premium foods for tourist restaurants and stores and wool and synthetic fibers for textiles. Despite Mitchell and Reid's claim that tourism brought "a relatively equitable distribution of economic benefits for Taquile residents," the same authors estimated that in 1996 only 9% of gross profits from Taquile tourism went to island residents (Mitchell and Reid 2001:136,132). Mitchell and Reid (2001) closed their article by noting that since the 1990s neoliberal reforms and overall increase of tourists visits to Taquile, the perceived benefits and control of Taquileños in the island's tourism industry "has relied on the tender balance between liberal market forces and collective participation, control, and benefit" (Mitchell and Reid 2001:137). Leakage is a deceptive term because it make the flow of money away from local communities seem accidently. In reality it is intentional and more analogous to drainage.[41]

Culture as a Resource

So what is at stake when culture becomes a resource? When some scholarly studies examine music within the contexts of cultural tourism, they focus on changes in the following areas: instrumentation, musical style, performance context, audience, or

[41] Thanks to Veit Erlmann for suggesting this term.

cultural significance. Recall the work of Wilcken (1988) on the *rada* drum stripped of its religious significance. Some anthropological studies also focused on cultural change. Among the most influential of this type was Greenwood (1989) published in *Hosts & Guests.* He concluded,

> Treating culture as a natural resource or a commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the peoples' cultural rights. While some aspects of culture have wider ramifications than others, what must be remembered is that culture in its very essence is something that people believe in *implicitly*. By making it part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives. (Greenwood 1989:179)

Greenwood's conclusion is indeed very serious. If he is correct then tourism not only changes the cultures that enter into its sphere, but in doing so effectively dilutes or removes the value, the realness, of that culture for the local people. I mention Greenwood's essay because of its prominence in studies of cultural tourism and because it also represents popularly held beliefs about the possible negative effects of tourism.

To evaluate Greenwood's conclusion, it needs to be tested both on a theoretical level and on an empirical level. When synthesized, my results indicate that tourism has not extracted either the "realness" or the value of music at public festivals, pilgrimages, or nightclubs for a majority of Cusqueños or tourists.

On a theoretical level, I do not argue that cultural change does not occur; only that change cannot be understood as inherently negative. I mentioned another possibility for understanding the possibilities for cultural change in the introduction. In the same publication as Wilcken, Béhague (1988) formulated a more open framework for understanding change. He wrote, "the traditional musician's own interpretive mechanism in coping with the situation of change…thus revealing the degrees of true significance attached to the tradition by the native musician himself, and his creativity in considering acceptable options…" (Béhague 1988:66).

Empirically, this dissertation illustrates a range of possibilities in the areas of musical performance contexts and repertoire, opportunities for musicians, relevance and authenticity to different social groups, and the agency of those groups to act on their own interests.

In the area of musical performance contexts and repertoire, Chapter Two demonstrated that when folklorists and *indigenista* composers and musicians made culture into resources for socio-economic development through tourism, they created new performance contexts (a festival featuring a reenactment of Inca history) and a new musical repertoire. This repertoire had a strict aesthetic for instrumentation, mode, and melodic material. So, though there is no official score for the performance of Inti

Raymi, to fulfill expectations for historical accuracy through aesthetics, they usually take musical material from the accepted repertoire of *música cusqueña*. The other raymi type-performances mentioned in chapter three underscore the success and prominence of Inti Raymi in the Cusco region. Small communities near the city of Cusco have created their own raymi type performances and adopted the repertoire of *música cusqueña* as well. Chapter four, on the other hand, demonstrated that despite the growing significance of tourism, traditional performance contexts and repertoire still continue at places like the pilgrimage of Señor de Qoyllur rit'i. Finally, the dinner shows illustrated a wholly new performance context where some groups mixed regional folk songs with popular music from Latin America and arrangements of Western art music for Andean instruments. Because audiences' interests demand certain pieces are played, such as "Condor Pasa," the musicians were limited in their repertoire.

Though Inti Raymi and the dinner shows limited the repertoire of musicians, the prominence or, in the case of dinner shows, the steady income that the performances generated afforded musicians and cultural groups other opportunities for artistic expression. Even within performance contexts open to tourists, such as nightclubs or public squares, there was real variety to the possibilities of acceptable performance styles and musical expressions, ranging from classic Latin American popular music, to

realist renderings of popular religious festivals, to an artistic fantasy about Andean gods.

Opportunities for musicians also varied. For Inti Raymi, there have been only a few musical directors, many of whom were former members of *Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativa* and directors of the music school. Related to this, the musicians have often been members of cultural groups or students from the music school. This limited participation for musicians contrasts the wider opportunities for average Cusqueños to perform as dancers, military, or others in a cast of hundred for Inti Raymi. In fact, the participation of hundreds each year over the last six decades has been a significant factor in the on-going cultural relevance of the performance. At the other raymi festivals, however, opportunities for local musicians were even more limited and very few participated, perhaps because of the musical repertoire. In fact, cultural groups from Cusco often acted as cultural brokers to the people in the small town. Also, the dinner shows gave only a few groups the chance at a regular gig and a chance to sell CDs. I estimate that fewer than a dozen groups made regular appearances in Cusco at the dinner show restaurants. Finally, the pilgrimage represented an opportunity to musicians that was more traditional in its performance context, repertoire, and sporadic

employment, since the musicians were hired employees of the *mayordomos* and the dance group.

In terms of cultural relevance and authenticity, in some cases, such as Inti Raymi, scholars were tasked with keeping the performance relevant and historically accurate, resulting in a series of "official" scripts for the performance. At the other raymi performances, popular interest dictated whether a performance continued or not. It two cases, the abandonment of the performance indicated a lack of relevance. Finally, the case of the dinner shows brought into question how authenticity was constructed in the first place. Rather than structuring life in front and back stages, as MacCannell suggested, the reality of Cusco was one of varying performance contexts and contents, where locals and tourists mixed to varying degrees depending on their interests and ability to pay.

Finally, in terms of agency, when culture became a resource, it often transformed performances into the sites of power struggles. In the case in Inti Raymi, citizens turned the prestige and economic potential into pressure on national and local authorities to protest the nationalization of electric utilities and limitations placed on ambulant vendors. However, the same prestige of heritage or patrimony gave local (Hermandad de Señor de Qoyllur rit'i) and national authorities at the INC the influence

to limit cultural expressions, or entrance into areas at those sites. The other raymi festival brought into question whether people in rural communities were compelled to copy models from the urban center of Cusco (models that were partly derived from material taken from the countryside in the first place) in an effort to gain economic opportunities and recognition. I argue that tourism has not stripped the culture of its realness precisely because different groups have used these performances in their struggles for control over their economics, expressive culture, and heritage.

Picturesque Filth

Critics of tourism have called it a "devil's bargain" in which people trade their culture and agency for a limited share in the capitalist market, but in the end only further their marginalization (Rothman 1998). Proponents of development have championed tourism as the path to clean, fast, and harmonious development for the "third world." Rather than come down on the side of either devil or savior, I used the metaphor of picturesque filth to conceptualize cultural tourism as something wonderfully awful. It is too simplistic to say that cultural tourism either destroys or redeems.

Chapter One defined the metaphor of picturesque filth historically and theoretically. Historically, it is understood through the projects of folklorists,

composers, and travelers as an aesthetization of poverty, a process through which writing, music and dance render the marginalization of the rural poor in the Andes beautiful and useful. Theoretically, it drew on the work of Ong (1996) and Tirado Bramen (2000) as part of a civilizing project that sought to incorporate Peru's indigenous population into the modern nation state and capitalist economy.

Chapter Two discussed how Inti Raymi can be understood in relation to the metaphor: since its musical repertoire derived from the collection of folklore, its transformation into new cultural expressions and the *indigenista* social critique and agenda of social and economic. The *indigenistas* dreamt of socio-economic development by using tourism as a quick means to achieve modernization and capitalist economic opportunities. The new folklore performances and the archaeological remains of the Inca civilizations were the intended tourist attractions. And since indigenous and rural people and culture were positioned by *indigenistas* as the antithesis of modernity, prestige, and economic opportunity, they and their culture needed to be "cleaned up." Chapter three then examined how the raw materials processed by folklorists and composers were returned to the countryside as finished products.

Finally, chapters four and six quoted the travel blogs of tourists about their experiences in Cusco. Both expressed their pleasure and discomfort about the situation.

Nacho Libre was ambivalent about being a tourist. In an effort to distance himself from other tourists, he witnessed the poor living conditions that many face in the Andean countryside. While the experience was humbling, the author also rendered it pleasurable by writing of his authentic cultural experience (no other tourists) and the smiles of the children. Joseph Scanion struggled to reconcile the beauty he saw in Cusco with jarring the bodily experience of coming so close to someone else's struggle to make a living.

I want to highlight the trace of discomfort in those examples, that is, sometimes it's the writer's and sometimes our own at someone actually being pleased to see poor, hungry, desperate people, because in it lies a truth about the situation. For all its commoditization and aesthetization, cultural tourism touches a deep nerve about the reality of social interactions in which people react to poor living conditions and question their own social positions and the positions of others, as well as the social structures (travel, globalization, capitalist exchange, etc.) that generated the conditions of that social interaction.

Appendix A

Music Performed at Inti Raymi June 24, 2006
Source: Personal Archive of Esteban Ttupa Llavilla

Title	Composer	Outline Music: Key, Time signature, etc.	Accompanied dramatic action	Location
Ingreso de pututeros	None	Conch shell trumpets play sustained notes	Announce arrival of musicians	Qoricancha
Ensayo de Ballet	Baltazar Zegarra	2/4 meter, A minor, pentatonic (avoids 2 and 6), AABB form, B section syncopated with parallel 3rd and 5ths harmony, phrases symmetrical: 8 bars each	Musicians enter, proceed to left of wall	Qoricancha
Qoricancha	Armando Guevara Ochoa	2/4 march, G major to E minor, 4 bar melody A (end with note D) alternating with A^1 (ends on E) then B melody. Pentatonic avoiding 2nd and 7th	Imperial army enters field below wall	Qoricancha

Entrada de Aqllas	Adolfo Nuñez del Prado	2/4 meter, section A C maj to a min, section B G maj to e min, pentatonic, form AABB	Entrance of the Chosen Women	Qoricancha
Melodía 2/Entrada de la Coya	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla	2/4 meter, pentatonic, A min section A, E min section B, B is same melodic material as A transposed, melody is two short phrases aabb.	Entrance of the Queen	Qoricancha
Qosqo Napaykuykin	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra	Song in 4/4 time, Quechua lyrics, E minor, pentatonic melody with full minor scale in harmony, ABBA form	Military and dancers sing	Qoricancha
Himno al Sol	Daniel Alomía Robles	4/4 time, E minor, pentatonic melody	All kneel for arrival of Inca	Qoricancha
Inti Taki	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra	Song in 2/4, Quechua lyrics, E minor, pentatonic melody	Inca sings solo then all sing	Qoricancha
Bomobs signal	None		Drums signal all to rise	Qoricancha
Qoricancha	Armando Guevara Ochoa		After Inca speaks all exit location	Qoricancha

Qosqo Napaykuyin "Trote 2" section	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra	2/4 march, E minor, pentatonic (F# only passing note), AABAABAA form	Musicians "trot" out last	Qoricancha
Ingreso de pututeros	none	Conch shell trumpets play sustained notes	Conch trumpeters first to emerge from church on the way to plaza	Santo Domingo
Qosqo Napaykuyin "Trote 2" section	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra		Musician announce Inca exit church	Santo Domingo walking on to Plaza de Armas
Melodía 3	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla	2/4 meter, A min and E minor, pentatonic, AABB form, each section is 32 measures divided into two phrases AABB, B section is the same melody transposed.	Willks Nina and Aqllas entre plaza	Plaza de Armas
Melodía 2/ Entrada de la Coya	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla		Queen and attendants enter plaza	Plaza de Armas
Bombos signal	None		Drums signal all to kneel at entrance of Inca	Plaza de Armas

Inti Raymi	Roberto Ojeda	Song in 4/4, Quechua lyrics, C minor, melody pentatonic (no 2^{nd}, $7^{th)}$ with harmony in parallel 3rds using full minor scale, cadence minor third.	Inca sings solo then all join in	Plaza de Armas
Bombos signal	None		Drums signal all to stand	Plaza de Armas
Qosqo Llaqta	Juan de Dios Aguirre	3/4 meter, A minor, predominant pentatonic melody, but uses b (2^{nd}) when outlining v chord in 2 measures	Ritual offering of Coca to mountain gods	Plaza de Armas
Q'ara Chunchu	Regional folk dance	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2,6), AABBCC with A half the length of B, C.	Dance for Inca and court by group representing 1 region of civilization	Plaza de Armas
Inti Raymi-Qhaswa section	Roberto Ojeda	2/4 meter, C minor, pentatonic (avoids 2 and 6), AABB form	All exit plaza and begin walk to Sacsayhuaman	Plaza de Armas
Haylli 2	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla	2/4 meter, C maj/A min, pentatonic (avoids b and f), 1 melodic phrase cadence on C, then on A.	All exit plaza and begin walk to Sacsayhuaman	Plaza de Armas

Ingreso de pututeros	none	Conch shell trumpets play sustained notes	Announce arrival at Sacsayhuaman	Sacsayhuaman
Ensayo de Ballet	Baltezar Zegarra		Musicians enter	Sacsayhuaman
Himno al Sol "Trote 3" section	Daniel Alomía Robles	2/4 march, G major/E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2, 7), AABB form	Imperial Army enters	Sacsayhuaman
Tema 3			Willks Nina and Aqllas entre	Sacsayhuaman
Tema 2	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra		Entrance of Queen and attendants	Sacsayhuaman
Qosqo Napaykuyin "Trote 2" section	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra		Change pattern of army and dancers	Sacsayhuaman
Himno al Sol	Daniel Alomía Robles		Entrance of Inca and court	Sacsayhuaman
Bombos signal	none		Drums signal all to kneel at entrance of Inca	Sacsayhuaman
Inti Raymi	Roberto Ojeda		Inca sings solo then all join in	Sacsayhuaman
Bombos signal	none		Drums signal all to stand	Sacsayhuaman
Asto Waraka	Aldofo Nuñez del Prado	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic melody (avoids 2,6), but uses full minor scale with harmony in parallel 3rds and 5ths	Chicha ritual	Sacsayhuaman
Qosqo Llaqta	Juan de Dios Aguirre		Fire ritual	Sacsayhuaman

Tupay	Regional folk dance	2/4 meter, A minor, pentatonic (avoids 2, 6), triplet rhythm, 2 melodic phrases, each 4 bars, a repeated 4 times, b twice	Llama sacrifice	Sacsayhuaman
Qosqo Napaykuyin "Trote 2" section	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra		Change figure	Sacsayhuaman
Wanka	Policarpo Caballero Farfan	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2,6), parallel harmony in 3rds, AAA^1A^1 form with A^1 transposed up 4^{th} from A, both cadence on E.	Sankhu (food) ritual	Sacsayhuaman
Bombos signal	none		Drums signal all to sit	Sacsayhuaman
Saqsa	Regional folk dance	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2,6) with f passing note, triplet rhythm, AABBCC form.	Dance for Inca and court by group representing 1 region of civilization	Sacsayhuaman
Q'ara Chunchu	Regional folk dance	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2,6), AABBCC with A half the length of B, C.	Dance for Inca and court by group representing 1 region of civilization	Sacsayhuaman

Waylars Antiguo	Regional folk dance	2/4 meter, mainly C major, pentatonic (avoids 4, 7), 3 short melodic phrases: AABBCC syncopated rhythm.	Dance for Inca and court by group representing 1 region of civilization	Sacsayhuaman
Chaqoy	Regional folk dace	2/4 meter, A minor, pentatonic (avoids 2, 6), ABC form, each section 16 bars, section B triple rhythm, section C syncopated.	Dance for Inca and court by group representing 1 region of civilization	
Bombos signal	none		Drums signal all to stand	Sacsayhuaman
Inti Raymi-Qhaswa section	Roberto Ojeda		Big Qhaswa finale	Sacsayhuaman
Hayllis 1	Francisco Gonzáles Gamarra	2/4 time, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2, 6), 1 melodic phrase	Big Qhaswa finale	Sacsayhuaman
Hayllis 2	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla		Big Qhaswa finale	Sacsayhuaman
Hayllis 3	Esteban Ttupa Llavilla	2/4 meter, E minor, pentatonic (avoids 2, 6), 1 melodic phrase, syncopated.	Big Qhaswa finale	Sacsayhuaman

Appendix B

Raymi Performances in the Department of Cusco

Performance	Place, Province	Date	Summary
Sara Raymi	Huar, Quispicanchi	First Sat. & Sun. of March	Performance evoking an ancient ritual about corn
Leyenda de los Hermanos Ayar	Parccarectambo, Paruro	Third Sunday of June	Performance enacts the history of the origin of the Incas at the archaeological site of Maucallacta.
Ajha Raymi	Santiago, Cusco	Mid June ***	Performance of the ritual production and offering of chichi (corn beer).
Wayna Raymi	Cusco, Cusco	Mid June	Performed in the patio of the private school La Salle. This is mainly a dance competition for the students of the school that began in 1987[42], but part of the performance involves people dressed in Inca costume.
Festival de Q'eswachak	Quewek	Mid June	This performance reconstructs an Inca natural rope bridge over the Apurímac River. The bridge burned in 2005 [43]
Inti Raymi	Cusco, Cusco	June 24th	Performs the Inca ritual to the sun god Inti.
Ollantay	Ollantaytambo, Urubamba	June 29th	Performed in the ruins of Ollantaytambo, local actors perform the drama of

[42] El Diario del Cusco, June 15, 2000
[43] El Comercio del Cusco June 21, 2005 p.8.

			Ollantay in the ruins. It is followed by folk dances.
Pachamama Raymi	Ccatca, Quispicanchi	August 1st	A spiritual ceremony celebrating mother earth
K'intur Raymi	Oropesa, Quispicanchi	First Sunday of August	A meeting of priests and shaman perform ritual tú balance man's relationship to nature
K'uchuy	Pucyura, Anta	August 6th	Performance of an encounter between Incas and the Spanish at the proclamation of independence.
Festival Solischa	Tinta, Canchis	August 19th	Presents the staging of Inka "Wanqoy Phuturi."
Pisaq Willka Raymi	Piasq, Urubamba	Last Sunday in August	Performed in the archaeological site of Pisaq performs a ceremony to a condor apu Willka Kiaro.
Warachikuy	Cusco, Cusco	Third Sunday in September	Held at Sacsayhuaman in the City of Cusco is performed by the students of Colegio de Ciencias evoking an Inca rite of passage in which young men competed at different skills to demonstrate their maturity.
Qocha Raymi	Urcos, Quispicanchi	Third Saturday in September	Performs a ritual to water at lakeside
Tanta Raymi	Oropesa, Quispicanchi	First weekend of October	Celebrates the towns gastronomic specialty, bread
Uno Urco	Calas,	First Sunday of October	In the archaeological site of Urco, a performance of a ceremony to water.
Killa Raymi	San Jeronimo, Cusco	October 8th	Performance of a ritual to the Inca moon god Killa staged by the students of the school Fe y Alegría

*** No longer performed
Sources:
Direccion Regional de Comercio Exterior y Turismo Cusco.

Glossary

Aestheticization: the process by which something is made pleasing, pleasurable, or beautiful

Alcalde: Mayor

Apu: spirit or god in Quechua

Awqa Chileno: a regional folk dance that depicts a character from Chile

Bombo: double headed drum on a cylinder wooden frame where the leather heads are tightened with a system of rope that zigzags between the two sides. It varies in size and is played with a soft mallet.

Cargo: literally burden or load, it signifies the responsibility (both financial and spiritual) someone takes on to sponsor a pilgrimage or other religious event.

Caporal: leader of the dance group

Celadore: guardian, in this case of the church and shrine for Señor de Qoyllur rit'i

Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo: Cusco Center for Native Art, a cultural group from Cusco that formed in the 1920s and performs regional folk music and dance.

Charango: a string instrument native to the Andes, but thought to have derived from the Spanish vihuela. It is small in size with a body with an arched back, frets, and 5 courses of double strings often tuned lowest to highest G,C E, A, E.

Chunchus: a regional folk dance that depicts imagined warriors from the rainforest region.

Chupe: Something between a soup and a stew made with fresh or preserved potatoes, a bit of meat and vegetables, such as fava beans, onions, and carrots.

La Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo (PROM PERÚ): Peruvian national government agency that promotes tourism.

Comisión Municipal de la Semana del Cusco: Municipal Commission Cusco Week, a group that organized Inti Raymi

Comisión Organizadora de los Festejos del Cusco: Organizing Commission of the Festival of Cusco, a group that organized Inti Raymi.

Comparsa: dance group

Contradanza: a regional folk dance that mimics 18th century couples dance from Europe.

Cusqueños: people from the city of Cusco in Peru

Cruz Velecuy: Venerating the Cross, a religious observance where people hold candle-light vigils by the major crosses in the city.

Día del Indio: Day of the Indian, a holiday on June 24th, created in the 1920s that was meant to celebrate indigenous culture in Peru.

Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco (EMUFEC): a office of the municipal government of Cusco that organizes the festivities in the month of June, including Inti Raymi

Filigranas Peruanas: cultural group that performs music and dances from the Andes and other regions of Peru

Fogon: a traditional wood-burning adobe stove.

Guano: bird droppings, used with other chemicals to make gunpowder.

Hacienda: an agro-economic system where a land owner controls a large amount of land and uses laborers who live on the land, but do not own it, to work the land. The tenants pay for their use of the land with a share of the crop.

Hermandad de Señor de Qoyllur rit'i: lay brotherhood of Catholics who support the church and shrine.

Imillas: female dances in the Qhapaq Qollas group

Indigenismo: social, political, and artistic movement in the early 20th century in Latin America that focused on indigenous history and culture, rather than Hispanic

Indigenista: someone who is part of the Indigenismo movement.

Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC): a national level government agency that oversees all historic and cultural sites in Peru. It was founded during the Velasco era.

Inti Raymi: the Sun Festival

Jugando: "Playing" people ask for divine intervention by imaging and playing what they wish for.

Mayordomos: the primary sponsors of a religious obligation

Mestizo: a person in Latin America of mixed race descent or cultural practice that is a hybrid.

Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico: Peruvian Mission of Incan Art, a music, dance, and theatre group from the early 20th century.

Música Cusqueña: music of Cusco. I use this term to refer to the repertoire of music created by composers in Cusco in the late 19th-early 20th century that combines certain stylistic aspects of Western Art music with regional folk music.

Naciones: literally nations, they are the categorization of dance groups based on their province

Pedidas: pleas that people make from friends and family to help in their responsibility to a religious obligation or observance.

Pinkuillus: a transverse, Andean wind instrument

Pitus: transverse flute from the Andes region

Pututu: Conch trumpet

Qhapaq Qollas: rich llama herders from the high plane or high elevations. A regional folk dance is based on this character

Quena: end- blown notch flute from the Andes region. The length and number of holes can vary greatly, producing a variety of pitch ranges and scales

Riqch'ariy Wayna: a cultural group in Cusco that has performed Inti Raymi many times

Señor de Qoyllur rit'i (Lord of the Snow Star): an apparition of Jesus venerated as a miracle

Sikus: wind instrument from the Andes region, commonly called a panpipe or zampoñas in Spanish. It is constructed of cane or bamboo tubes that are stopped at one end and blown on the other end. They are cut to various sizes to form the different pitches. They can be assembled in any number of combinations, though siku often refers to a construction where pairs of instruments have alternating pitches to form a complete scale

Soles: Peruvian currency

Té macho: hot tea with a shot of alcohol.

Tinya: single-headed snare drum from the Andes region played with sticks

Ukukus: character in regional dance performances that represents a bear. Ukukus keep order

Zampoñas: wind instrument, panpipes, see siku

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Personal Archive of Esteban Ttupa Llavilla

List of pieces performed at Inti Raymi 2006 along with brief transcriptions of the melodies.

Filigrana Peruana's Archive

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